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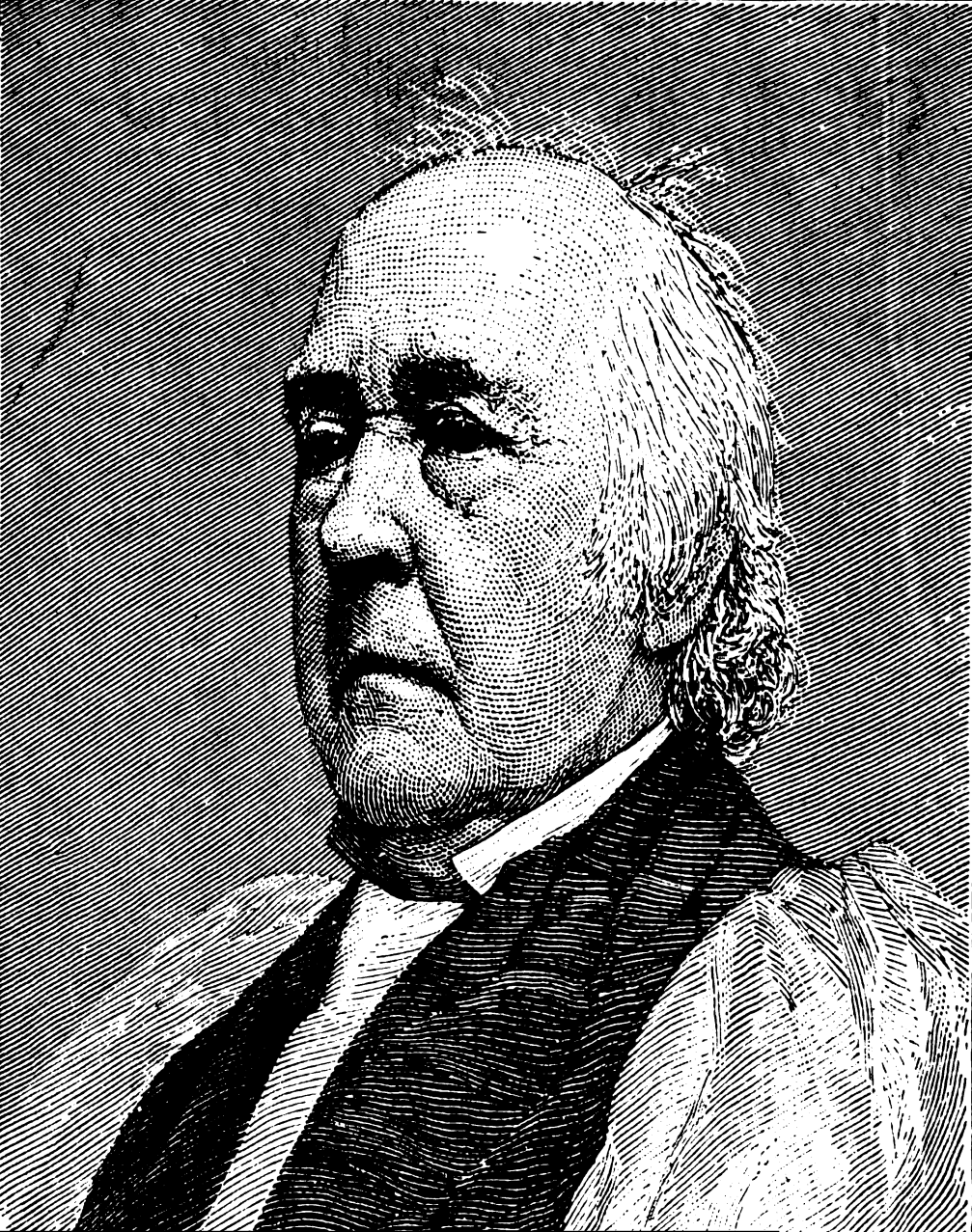
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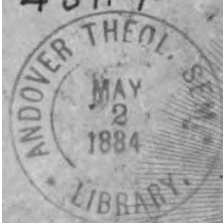
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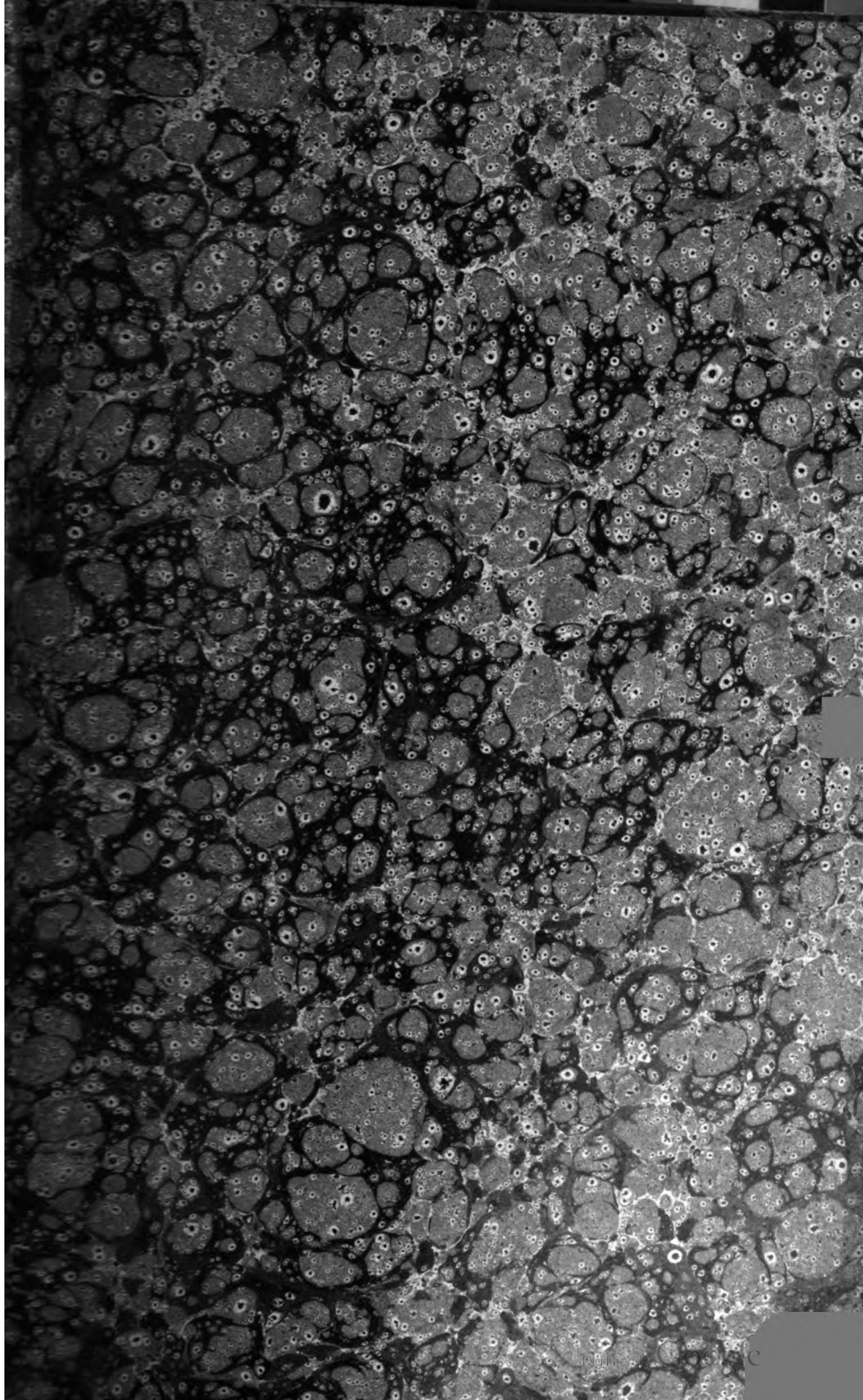


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AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

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JULY, 1883.

THE MODERN CONCEPTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL AS THE CLAIMED RESULT OF THE NEW CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE popular interest which Professor Robertson Smith created for Biblical criticism about three years ago by his published lectures, has been constantly growing in intensity. At present it is threatening to become the almost all-absorbing subject of excitement in religious and anti-religious circles.

The agitation which this criticism is producing has only had its parallel in our time when, about a dozen years ago, Darwinism was greeted by antagonists to religion as the final victory of materialism, and seemed to frighten many preachers out of their wits, and into learned disquisitions on cells, membranes and similarly edifying subjects.

Now, as then, the "burning question" gives good opportunity for making "*wrong uses*" of the Bible from the pulpit in sensational and unwholesome teaching, or on the other hand, in unreasoning and unqualified denunciations of all Biblical science.



I therefore suppose that what I shall say in the following pages will be found timely, and venture to hope that it will contribute towards a general understanding of the main points at issue for those who cannot make this question an object of direct study.

I.

The storm which the "New Criticism" is producing here, has been prevailing with much more intensity in German and Dutch schools for over sixteen years. With the publication, in 1866, of Professor Graf's little book, "The Historical Books of the Old Testament," a stormy cloud discharged itself over the schools of Biblical research which had been hovering and threatening for more than thirty years, ever since the publication of Vatke's "Old Testament Theology," in 1835. Pointing to discrepancies between the practice of the history of Israel and the theory of the Levitical Law, and also between this law and the books of Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, Graf insisted that the origin of the book of Leviticus, with large parts of Exodus and Numbers, must be assigned to the post-exilic period. Accepting the conclusions of Riehm and others, that Deuteronomy originated not long before the exile, he argued that the Levitical Law represented a later development of religion, and a ritual scheme which was neither practised nor known before the exile. From this little work the school is called Grafean. Its real father, however, is Professor Reuss of Strassburg, by whom Graf as a pupil was initiated into the new theory and method of criticism thirty-two years before he published his own book. Graf was soon followed by another pupil of Reuss, Kayser, with his essay on the pre-exilic books.

The question as to the time of the origin of the Levitical Law was, however, a mere starting point and

impetus towards developing a new and startling scheme of the history of Israel, covering all periods, including the Advent of our Lord. Graf's share in this scheme is not so much in what he directly contributed as in the revolution which he initiated. His theory had an effect; not only revolutionizing the whole realm of Biblical research, but also completely changing the view of the history of Israel.

He startled many; he provoked most strenuous opposition, and evensneers, but he encouraged others by his boldness of consistency in shrinking from no consequences. He appeared to many a grey-haired veteran of the field of Biblical research as a man who, turning things upside down, should insist that this was their right position. Just think of it, the laws of Moses and Aaron are insisted upon as being the last stage of development of the religion of Israel! It seemed to some too startling, too adventurous, to deserve any serious consideration. But there were others, the rising school, who at once insisted that Graf had only restored things to their historical position, which had hitherto been kept upside down. They looked back to Vatke, who had before been ignored, or mistrusted as philosopher, an Hegelian, "who could not be trusted across the street" ⁽¹⁾. Graf carried a revolution into practice, which had been sketched by Vatke in theory. The air proved to be full of revolutionary elements. Many scattered treatises on different minor topics of the Old Testament had been or were being prepared, whose results coincided with those of Graf to furnish material for a new structure. Noeldeke, for instance, who decidedly opposed Graf, himself furnished in his "researches" the best material for a building for which Graf had laid the foundation.

⁽¹⁾ E. Reuss, *Geschichte der Hellig. Schrift. Alt. Test.*, p. ix.

At about the same time the University of Leyden, Holland, began to attract attention. Its theological professors, of whom Kuenen is most known, published researches in the field of religious history, which, with all their scientific air and method, did not hide a revolutionary aim, nor disguise a spirit thoroughly hostile to revealed religion. The gifted Kuenen finally undertook to combine the various analytical researches into one positive structure of the Religion of Israel. This work is the result, the summing up of all the researches that coincide with his plan. He did not disdain to make use even of Colenso, whom he denounces as unscientific. In his well-known work he not only turns the traditional view of the literature and history of Israel on its head, but he traces the development of the religion to a purely natural process. But, stimulated by Graf and Kuenen, and inspired particularly by Vatke, Wellhausen again turned the attention of the new school to Germany, by his most acute analysis of the books of Moses and Joshua, in the *Theological Year-Books* of 1876 and 7, which was followed by the first volume of his celebrated *History* in 1878 ⁽¹⁾, and by his additions to Bleek's *Introduction* in the same year. Duhm also had contributed not a little to strengthen the new school by his *Theology of the Prophets* in 1875.

As can well be surmised, the new school met opposition from the beginning. Celebrated leaders in the field of Biblical research, of various shades of opinion, raised their voices. Some of the last sneers of Ewald were directed against Graf. Riehm pointed out the

⁽¹⁾ The second volume has not appeared. The first volume has long been out of print, yet no second edition is offered. In the meantime Wellhausen has been transferred from his theological chair in Greifswald, to a philosophic chair in Halle. This looks like an interference from "high quarters."

obstacles in the way of the new theory. Delitzsch and Dillman are constantly working to show its untenableness, not to mention less known names.

The opposition is rarely prompted by religious scruples. Noeldeke for instance, who is mentioned above as opposed to the Grafean theory, is very far from being offended at the spirit of the new school. His own investigations happen always to bear destructive results, which he seasons with occasional sneers against the authors of the Bible.

When, in 1880, Dillman published his excellent commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, he deemed it timely to say that "the flood of the waters of criticism was beginning to subside," and expressed the hope that "a sober and becoming judgment would begin to prevail." But he was soon to learn how much he had underrated the strength of the storm. His own words are now cited against him in derision.

Smend published his Commentary on Ezekiel, which prophet, he insists, only corroborates the new theory. Wellhausen contributed his article "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The Old Master Reuss, the real originator of the scheme, published his *History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament* in 1881, at which time Bernhard Stade, the most radical of all, began the issue of his *History of Israel*, and of his periodical for *Old Testament Science*. In this periodical a new flood of criticism is being poured out semi-annually. Its contributors, of whom Edward Meyer may be noted for his zeal, are all working in the same direction. Schuerer's paper is controlled by this school, not to speak of the variety of smaller and larger publications which are controlled by its spirit. It is felt all over the field of literature. Reviews on Old Testament subjects in such literary papers as the London "*Academy*," for instance, are

apt to be inspired by this school. Bredenkamp, a most conservative writer of the old school, speaks of this new "hypothesis" as having at present acquired an "almost domineering" influence. The greatest danger to religion is apprehended by those to whom *His Word* is dearer than life. And this apprehension is not without good ground. No doubt, some have already suffered complete shipwreck in this storm. Yet, this does not prevent some from following the new path who claim to have the interest of Christianity at heart. The most radical, Stade himself, in the introduction to his 'history, page 12, says: "Theologues and laymen, who are not used to historical views of the Holy Scripture, will be offended at much that is brought out in this book. Let them be convinced that the dignity of the Holy Scripture, and of the Christian religion lies as near to the heart of the author as to their own heart, yea, that just for their sakes he judges as he does." The interpreter of this school to the English speaking people, Prof. Smith, again and again seeks to make it understood that the interest in the salvation of Christ is dear to his soul. The school grows, not only in the number of its scholarly adherents, but also in the boldness of its conclusions. It seems to possess a charm and power which many minds cannot resist. This charm is manifest in the glowing zeal of conviction which breathes from the pages of its leading writers, including their gifted interpreter from Scotland. No martyr could have possessed a stronger conviction of the truth of the cause for which he was dying than those authors have of the truth of the "demonstrations" they are proclaiming. Their theory is the only true and genuine science. Their methods alone are fair, all who differ are mere apologists, using harmonic tricks to twist the words of Scripture to suit their own theory. The calm, dignified, unbiased, and

by no means too orthodox Dillmann, does not escape being derided as a partial apologist. They never fail to review their opponents in a contemptuous spirit. But whatever we may think of their conclusions we cannot deny their brilliant ability, their exquisite training, their mastery of the subject, their constant aiming after purely scientific method, and their earnest seeking after truth in their own way. They believe themselves to be combating error, perversion, and superstition.

II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL ACCORDING TO THE NEW SCHOOL.

The direct object of the present investigation is not to introduce the reader into the obscure, intricate, and tedious paths of Biblical criticism, but to enable him to judge of the new structure of the *religion* of Israel which is presented to our view. The new school declares our view of the Bible and of its religion to be unable to stand the test of science, and thus to be unhistorical. It claims therefore "to demolish an old uninhabitable structure in order to build a new and magnificent palace out of the old material." My desire is to examine and to exhibit the foundations of this new building, within a very small compass, in order to enable every intelligent reader, even one who is not conversant with Hebrew, nor with the science of criticism, to judge whether this new structure can stand the test of science, whether it is reared upon Biblical ground, whether it is built of historical material. Whatever of Biblical criticism I may have to introduce will only be incidental.

I shall therefore give a short statement of the view of the development of the religion of Israel as conceived by this school, and then I shall endeavor

to trace its spirit and origin before we proceed to examine whether it can stand the test of science.

The history of Israel according to the critical school begins with the period of what is called Judges. Previous to this period the possession of historical knowledge is denied ⁽¹⁾. The traditions about Moses, however, contain a small historical germ. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were no real persons, but personifications of collective bodies or tribes. So are the wives of these patriarchs and the twelve sons of Jacob. In fact, Leah and Levi represent one and the same tribe, as the similarity of the names suggests ⁽²⁾. In short, all the histories of the patriarchs are ethnic myths.

The children of Israel were never in bondage in Egypt. All the Egyptologists fancy that they find allusions to Hebrew slaves in Egyptian documents, because these Egyptologists read their prejudices, which they acquired from the Old Testament legends, into the Egyptian writings. They lack the true historical and philological training, and know nothing of the new science of historical criticism which alone enables one to form an opinion of Biblical history. The works of all the Egyptologists ⁽³⁾ are therefore

⁽¹⁾ The following very short sketch of the religious history of Israel is in accordance with Robertson Smith who follows Kuenen and Wellhausen. Those points in my statement which go beyond Professor Smith are further advances of this school made by Ed. Meyer and B. Stade, and I incorporate the latest "results."

⁽²⁾ Stade, in "*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche wissenschaft*," 1881-2, following Wellhs. *Gesch.*, I, 149. So W. R. Smith, article "Levites," in *Encyclop. Brit.*

⁽³⁾ Stade, *Geschichte*, p. 88, finds it amusing that all the Egyptologists identify the "Apirin" of the inscriptions with "Hebrew;" he thinks that the letter r is all the two names have in common. *Manetho*, he thinks, only formed the Hebrew tradition to suit his own tendency, p. 128. See also p. 44.

worthless for the purpose of constructing the history of Israel.

Several wild tribes of Nomads, which roved about Goshen and the Peninsula of Sinai, and of whom some called themselves Israel, were taught by Moses to accept the deity which was supposed to dwell on Mount Sinai as their tribal god. By the acceptance of this tribal deity they formed a consciousness of national unity among themselves. The name of this deity was Jehovah, or rather Yahweh. He was supposed to be the god of storms and thunder, but particularly a man of war, very strong. This Jehovah, Moses taught them, would overcome all their enemies. The knowledge of this deity, Moses himself probably got from the Kenites, a tribe dwelling near Sinai, among whom he had married. Jethro, his father in law, was really the revealer of Jehovah.¹ Various dates are assigned to the origin of the Decalogue; they generally suppose it, however, to be substantially the work of Moses. It is agreed that the moral conception of the deity, Jehovah, was always purer than that which the neighboring tribes entertained of their deities. On the whole Moses laid a good foundation for the moral development of the people. So much so that all the laws of later times were attributed to him, by the form of "legal fiction," as Prof. Smith expresses it. The conception of God as Jehovah, which Moses gave, gradually developed by the time of the later prophets, into the view that He is the God of Righteousness.

The persons of Aaron and Joshua are entirely fictitious. Caleb, again, is the personification of a clan around Hebron. The story of the twelve spies of

(¹) *Ibid*, p. 130, *et seq.* Kuenen is the most conservative of the new school with reference to the name of God. The importance of the different theories as to the origin of this Name will appear hereafter.

Moses was invented in order to give the Calebites a title to their possessions. In fact, the Calebites were originally of a Canaanitish race, identical with the Kenizites, and were afterwards amalgamated with Judah.¹ (For this the new school is indebted to Noeldeke.)

After Moses, the tribes began to conquer some territory for themselves. After conquering and settling the districts East of the Jordan, the overcrowded population necessarily pressed westward. Each tribe fought and conquered for itself, with changing fortunes. At times they were bitterly oppressed. The song of Deborah, in Judges V., the oldest historical writing, mirrors the condition of the time. The warrior and nobleman, Saul, united the tribes into a kingdom. Having, however, incurred the displeasure of the influential Samuel, the latter intrigued against him; another successful warrior, David, supplanted him; and Israel grew strong under his hand.

After David, the political history of Israel and Judah is not materially changed from what it is traditionally held to be according to the Bible, but the religious character of this history is in accordance with the view of the development of the religion of Jehovah. And of course, it is the view of the religion in which we are particularly interested; and it is the picture drawn of this religion which is the most startling of all the work of the new school.

After the conquest, the nomadic tribes of Israel gradually absorbed the races which they subdued. They not only inherited their land, but also their civilization and customs. Thus, what had been sacred to the conquered people, remained sacred to the conquerors. "Canaanite sanctuaries became Hebrew

(¹). Ed. Meyer in *Stade's Zeitschrift. f. alttest. Wissensch.*, 1881, whom Stade follows in his history.

holy places," says Professor Smith. So we find Beersheba, Bethel, and other places of Hebrew worship, which had been sacred before the conquest. Stade ⁽¹⁾ even affirms that at places like Beersheba, where Israelites met Edomites and other Arabic tribes in common worship, there also sprang up the tales about the common ancestors. At Beersheba, well-meaning priests told the pacifying stories of Abraham and Isaac, of Ishmael and Edom, the patriarchal figures in whom all gloried. At Bethel, again, the fascinating legends about Jacob were originated. In these sanctuaries Jehovah was indeed worshipped, but He yet dwelt on Sinai. He was believed to come occasionally, riding upon storm and cloud, to visit Palestine in the day of battle. By the mixture of different worships, the religion of Jehovah was, however, in danger of being altogether obliterated. In order to meet this danger, different sanctuaries were created to Jehovah, that He might dwell in the land. Thus did He take possession of the land of Israel, the land of His suzerainty.

Ophrah, Dan, and similar sanctuaries were established especially for Jehovah. Later, Jerusalem was added. The sanctuary of Jerusalem had only the distinction of being the place of worship for the royal residence.

The religion of Israel had nothing peculiar to distinguish it from that of other nations. The views of God, of worship, of sacrifices, and of the covenants between God and man were common to Israel with Ammon and Moab, Phœnicia and Edom. The Israelites were taught to distinguish the personal

⁽¹⁾ Stade, *Zeitschrift*, 1881, p. 847. This theory about the places of the origin of the traditions about the patriarchs is urged by A. Bernstein in his *Ursprung d. Sagen v. Abraham, Isaak u. Jacob*, 1871, and is elaborated by Stade.

character of Jehovah as being more fixed and more consistent in His view of righteousness; that was all. Human sacrifices were common to the worship of all the gods, Jehovah included. Jephtha's offering of his daughter, and David's delivering seven descendants of Saul to the Gibeonites to be sacrificed to Jehovah, were in accordance with the common practise of serving Jehovah.

Nor was monotheism thought of. The belief in Jehovah did not involve a denial of the reality and power of the gods of other nations. Each god was supposed to be in covenant with his own people as each people owed gratitude to its own god. Nay, paying homage to other gods was not considered inconsistent with faithfulness to Jehovah.

Nor was idolatry thought of as a sin. Images were lawfully displayed at all the sanctuaries including Jerusalem. The ideas of spirituality and invisibility of God were unknown. These ideas are the result of later theological speculations.

Nor was the priesthood limited to the tribe of Levi. The Levites were indeed preferred as priests but others were not excluded. It was by a process of gradual development that they became the priestly caste to the exclusion of all other tribes. The distinction between priests and Levites was introduced after the exile, and was unknown before Ezekiel.

When, therefore, the prophets are found in constant conflict with the Kings, we can easily see that the Kings were innocent and the prophets were innovators. When, out of prudent statesmanship, Ahab entered into alliance with neighboring Phoenicia, and married a Phoenician princess, he only followed the wise example of Solomon. And it was nothing but good statesmanship that he introduced Baal-worship to please his queen, and to make his relations with the neighbor-power more intimate. He acted with a

liberal spirit, and from a wise policy, and remained faithful to Jehovah withal. Neither he nor his people were conscious of any wrong. It was the rigorous, seclusive, and radical Elijah who conceived the new idea that there was no room for both Jehovah and Baal in the land. With Elijah the prophets began to develop the idea of monotheism, to insist upon exclusiveness and to annoy the practical Kings with their notions. Those Kings of Israel and Judah who are decried as bad, in consequence of their worship of other gods, were really innocent. Nay, the prophets, by insisting upon exclusiveness, made the people odious in the eyes of the world, and brought about political misfortune. Elijah and the prophets of Judah, says Professor Smith, "had no small part in breaking up the political life of the kingdom." This seems to imply that, had Ahab been left to his liberal spirit, and permitted to worship the neighboring Baal along with Jehovah, the Kingdom of Israel might yet have existed. The prophets ruined Israel.

Certainly it is great injustice to the memory of the patriotic and able Kings of Israel to charge them with any unfaithfulness for putting up golden calves at Bethel and Dan. Worse still is the imputation of sin to the Kings of Israel and Judah for sacrificing at the "High places." The historians who charged these Kings with wrong looked upon their actions in the light of later times.

After Elijah, Amos conceived the idea that the God of Israel is interested in all men. Amos broadened the narrow principle from within. Wellhausen, in the article "Israel," in the *Encycl. Brit.*, praises Amos greatly for his broad spirit. With Jeremiah we already meet fully developed monotheistic notions. And to the rigorous and consistent spirit of the prophets is due the spiritual religion of Judaism which fully developed after the captivity.

The view of the origin of the different parts of the Pentateuch is also in conformity with the process of natural evolution by which the whole religion was developed. The oldest parts of the Pentateuch are those of the Yahwist. His first piece is in Genesis II; Balaam's prophecy, Numbers xxiii, is from his hand, as also the record of the death of Moses. His conceptions of the deity are yet primitive. He speaks of Jehovah as "walking in the cool of the day," as eating with Abraham, as burying Moses, etc., etc. He wrote in the second half of the ninth century, and was followed by several other writers. During the reign of Josiah, Deuteronomy was produced. Here we find already the idea of a central sanctuary, but priests and Levites are yet identical. During the exile the Levitical law was being elaborated. To Ezekiel the genesis of the system is mainly due; Ezra elaborated it; and finally the whole priestly codex, with the distinction between priests and Levites, was incorporated, together with the earlier laws and writings, some time after Ezra, into one scheme of books called the Pentateuch. Thus the work of the prophets is crystallized in the law. The Pentateuch contains Judaism, not Israelitism. The religion of Israel was neither monotheistic, nor spiritual, nor hierarchical. But from it the prophets developed the spiritual religion of Judaism, from which Christianity sprang.

From the above meagre statement we can see that the main features of this conception of the history are:

1st. To group Israel together with the neighboring nations, to eliminate the idea of a peculiar, a chosen people, and to insist that Israel is in nothing different from the other nations of the earth, having, indeed, a mission, but only as other nations. The common idea of a *chosen people* is rejected as unhistorical in its very nature.

2d. The development of this history is in perfect accord with the common laws of natural evolution. From the idea of a tribal god developed, by a natural process, the belief in the One God of the universe. Everything miraculous is in its very nature unhistorical and absurd.

3d. The prophets were moral and consistent thinkers. The belief in predictions of the prophets deserves no consideration. The prophets are elaborately pictured to show their characters and work within the frame of natural evolution.

Thus there is no chosen people, with miracles and prophets, and revelations and predictions of Christ. All is brought within the sphere of nature and pure reason. As with a magic stroke, this school removes, not only mountains of difficulties from the path of critical students, but the veil of mystery from the whole scheme of spiritual religion. Everything is laid bare for reason to examine and to handle. There is in reality a new religion constructed when it is claimed that the history of Israel is merely being construed.

If therefore some of the writers assure us of their hearty interest in Christianity we cannot suspect them of being interested in the Christianity that requires any believing faculties. Their religion is not of faith, but of sight. To the new criticism of the Old Testament is linked on the now old criticism of the New Testament, of the Tubingen school, with some slight modifications.⁽¹⁾

(1) The reader can find this statement verified by consulting the third volume of "Bible for Learners," which work was superintended by Kuenen, as a dilution of his system for the *young* and beginners. Whosoever desires to be a member of this class of "Learners" let him, at least, read the introductory pages of a little book, "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," by the distinguished Unitarian, Pro-

Kuenen deserves credit for his candor in stating his "Standpoint" at the beginning of the "Religion of Israel." He declares it as absurd to believe in the miraculous choice of Israel as it is to hold to the old view that the earth is the main object and centre of the universe. Stade, with all his asseverations of great interest in Christianity, yet from the beginning uses such unambiguous expressions as to leave no room for mistaking his views of Christianity. But Professor Smith carries prayer-meeting phraseology into *his* elucidations of the prophets. He refers to Calvin, Coccejus, and Jonathan Edwards, as having held some germs of his own views. He sometimes speaks of "Revelation," "The love of God to His people," "Scheme of grace," "Redemption and salvation," as if he were holding revival meetings. It sometimes sounds like grim humor. He claims to seek nothing but to popularize the science of Biblical criticism.

III.

PREPARATORY HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE CRITICAL SCHOOL.

From the above meagre statement of the view of the development of the religion of Israel, the reader will be unable to discover the source of power and attraction of the school that produced it. But as we have to trace the spirit of this school through its history to its origin, in order to understand its true

fessor Ezra Abbot. Certainly one who consults Dr. Abbot and the authorities which he cites is at least not apt to make such a "Wrong Use" of the Bible from the pulpit as to abuse his hearers by declaiming the now obsolete moonshine-cant of David Strauss about a humanity "overshadowed by the Holy Ghost," begetting an "ideal Christ," etc., phrases for which honest unbelieving scholars have now nothing but a smile of contempt.

nature, we shall also find the secret source of its success.

Considering this school as to its general spirit, and not as to its particular critical character, we may say that it was born on English soil. From among the Deists of the last century is heard the voice of its infancy. It is well known that from Deistic seed planted on the continent grew French naturalism and German rationalism. The fruits were terrible political upheavals in France, and startling revolutions in religious thought in Germany. In both countries, storms and radical revolutions grew from English seed; but there, as everywhere and in everything, infinite wisdom overrules and utilizes violent revolutions for the purification of the spheres in which they transpire.

The Deists sought to supplant belief in revelation by urging the sufficiency of mere natural religion, of which alone in their opinion, the teachings of Christ consisted. Deism was, therefore, the more bitterly opposed to the Old Testament the more it was inclined to recognize the moral teachings of the New. They charged Judaism, *i. e.*, the belief in the Old Testament, with corrupting the New Testament by fusing the miraculous and mysterious element into it as a supernatural revelation. Of all the Deistic writers no one is so outspoken and marked in his radical and bitter opposition to the Old Testament as Thomas Morgan. And none made such an impression upon the German schools of the last century.

Dr. Thomas Morgan, a *deposed Presbyterian divine*, published his attack on revealed religion in his "Moral Philosopher," London, 1737. In consequence of his most decided opposition to the Old Testament he is called the "Modern Marcion." Dr. Leland says: "If we were to judge by some parts of his book we should be ready to look upon him as having very

friendly dispositions towards the Christian religion.”
 (1) “He expressly declareth himself to be a *Christian on the foot of the New Testament*.” (2) But Leland is soon constrained to use other colors for his picture, he continues: “He represents the law of Moses as ‘having neither truth nor goodness in it, and as a wretched scheme of superstition, blindness . . .’”
 “And he endeavors to prove that this was the sentiment of S. Paul. Among other heavy charges against that law, one is, that it encouraged human sacrifices as the highest act of religion and devotion, when offered not to idols, but to God; . . . and afterwards proceedeth to make a very odious, though inconsistent, representation of the character and the conduct of the ancient prophets, against whom he exclaimeth as the great disturbers of their country, the authors of all the evil wars and revolutions in the Kingdom of Israel and Judah, and the cause of the final ruin of both . . . And he praiseth Ahab and Jezebel, and other idolatrous princes, for having endeavored to destroy them.” (3) “He has gone so far as boldly to pronounce that the God of Israel, to whom the priesthood was instituted, and sacrifices were offered, was a cheat and an idol, as much so as any of the Pagan Deities, and that he was only considered as a local tutelar Deity.” (4) So far Leland. Diestel says of Morgan that he brought together everything that had hitherto been said against the Old Testament, and sought to deprive the history of Israel of all its religious value by his criticism. (5) Yet Morgan does

(1) Dr. John Leland, “A View of the Principal Deistical Writers,” I, p. 1754, first edition; London, 1754.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 180. (3) *Ibid.*, p. 186, and *seq.* (4) *Ibid.*, p. 207.

(5) Diestel, Geschichte d. Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche, p. 545.

not fail occasionally to praise the prophets for their moral elevation and efforts.

One might be led to infer that Dr. Robertson Smith is merely repeating Dr. Thomas Morgan, as Dr. Smith's position can be stated in almost the same words which Dr. Leland uses in describing Dr. Morgan's work. But this would not only misrepresent and do injustice to Dr. Smith, but also betray an ignorance or willful ignoring of the scientific character and work of the critical school, as well as of all the great efforts and acquisitions of more than a century of earnest research. It is true that in *a certain sense* Smith occupies the same position with Morgan. Both hold the very same religious view. Smith reached substantially the same position from which Morgan started. The movement which began with Morgan seems to have wandered in a circle until it reached its starting point in Smith. In one sense there was a wandering in a circle, but in another sense a great progress was made. There is a great, a very great, difference between the rude invectives of a Deist, and the earnest and interesting expositions of Biblical criticism of a refined and consummate scholar. Morgan seems to have guessed what Smith unconsciously reached by following the critical school in his earnest and gentle study. But there is a very long road of most difficult travel and most painstaking labor, there is a most wonderful and intricate process of development between Morgan and Smith. And by this painstaking labor and process of development much was accomplished for the benefit of Biblical science.

There is much by which Deism and its successors, to this day, may be identified as one school, and we can therefore call England the birthplace of the Rationalistic and the Critical schools. There is a feature common to all; they all consider themselves

able to see through the whole scheme of the Bible and of its religion with the eyes of the understanding; they therefore all reject the mysterious and miraculous. We may consequently be tempted to suppose that the new school is altogether Deism in new and brilliant vestures, furnished by illustrious scholars.

But on a closer examination we shall discover that there is difference of individuality in the different schools. There is the unity of a family spirit. The different schools spring from Deism and they manifest its spirit, but they are different individuals who were guided by different objects. The Critical school is the last link of a genealogical chain that begins with Deism. We must learn to understand the new school by studying the spirit of its ancestors. We must therefore now endeavor hurriedly to follow the outline, and to point out the most salient features of a genealogy of which Deism is the first link.

Its second link is Rationalism. Rationalism inherited the main peculiarity of its progenitor, in being unable to assimilate the miraculous in its religious system, and thus sought to reduce Christianity to mere morality. But from the beginning it spoke in a different tone, from a different spirit, and by a different method.

Deism's main object was to uproot all belief in the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. This was its avowed object, and bitter vituperation its practice. Suspecting tricks of priestcraft and tyranny all over the Old Testament, they were burning with the desire to destroy and to uproot it. The avowed, and no doubt sincere, purpose of Rationalism was to *save* the Bible. Some few Germans blindly followed the Deists, particularly Morgan, in reproducing their vituperations. For instance, Reimarus, Kayser, and others. Some again were infected by that caustic spirit of witticism and ridicule displayed in French

naturalism, which was encouraged by Frederick the Great in inviting Voltaire to his court. But as a whole the Rationalists perceived that religion could not have been produced by mere calculated fraud of priests and tyrants. They also felt that morality cannot be sustained if the Bible is to be rejected and even hated.⁽¹⁾ They were therefore determined to save the Bible by explaining it on rationalistic principles. They accepted the miracles, provided they were according to known physical laws; and the spiritual, provided it was natural. Thus they claimed to repel the attack of mocking and railing naturalists, and to sustain the Bible as a book according to reason. They resented the charge of dishonesty and fraud in the Bible, by insisting that the miracles were historical facts clothed in forms of miracles. Therefore their attitude was that of *apologists* against the attacks of the Deists and naturalists. Their apologetics must appear strange to us. The following will illustrate the peculiar character of Rationalistic apologetics.

In 1788 Dittmar published his "History of the Israelites, to the *Honor and Defense* of the Bible." One item of defense consists in explaining that the names Jehovah and Elohim represented, the one a Council of State, and the other a College of Priests which two bodies often failed to control their tempers. If, therefore, it is said that the wrath of Jehovah or of Elohim was enkindled it only meant to say that one of these governing bodies was angry. Thus the ob-

(1) One can well imagine that the teaching of morality *alone*, by means of a Bible made unnatural by naturalism, could only result in immorality of practice. The Bible, stripped of its claim to revelation, in the common sense of the word, has not much more power to produce righteousness and purity than the evolutionists have by their ethics. The Rationalists, however, were as much delighted with their latest explanations as some scholars of our day are with theirs.

jection against attributing anger to the God who is love is removed, and the Bible is *honored* and *defended*.

Hezel defends the theophany of Gen. xviii. as follows: A neighbor of Abraham *dreams* that Sarah will have a son and that the valley of Siddim will be destroyed. He visits Abraham with two companions and tells of his dream, which happens to be fulfilled; Abraham believes him therefore to be a god. But Henke differs and thinks that the two angels were spies sent by enemies to put fire to the valley.

When Joshua said that the Sun and Moon should stand still he meant the right and left wings of his army. That this was "not an astronomical, but a military order," was sagaciously ("sharfsinnig") discovered by Pastor Ritter, of Buttstadt, who earnestly desired to defend Scripture. The famous Eichhorn says that the Israelites could obtain no manna on the Sabbath because they had scratched the shrub, from which the manna came, too much the day before. Eichhorn makes it his special work to save the historicity of the miracles by similar natural explanations.⁽¹⁾

In 1807 G. Lorenz Bauer, a prominent scholar, published his "Hebrew Mythology." In the preface he states his opinion that such a work would occasion no objection now, after the labors of Eichhorn and others, with those who have kept up in the progress of literature. And we shall soon see in what direction the progress was made.

Lot's wife lost her life in the conflagration caused by lightning in the asphalt district of Sodom, and afterwards they *erected* a salt pillar to show the spot.⁽²⁾ The burning bush which Moses saw was

(1) See Diestel, in the above work, p. 736, *et seq.*

(2) Hebräische Mythologie, I., p. 242.

lightning. "It was, though, a cold ray, that did not ignite." He opposes Hezel, who believed it to have been electric fire.⁽¹⁾ The fire and smoke on Mount Sinai were due to an unexpected thunder storm.⁽²⁾ Korah was swallowed up by the earth, means that Moses caused him and his house to be buried alive. In this he agrees with Eichhorn.⁽³⁾ The renowned scholar, J. D. Michaelis, supposes that the division of the Jordan before Joshua was due to an earthquake.⁽⁴⁾ Michaelis especially favored and employed earthquakes, while Bauer preferred to use lightnings. It seems to have been a matter of taste with them, yet Bauer and others complain of Michaelis' too frequent use of earthquakes.

Samson's works were considered to have been in accordance with the laws of nature and therefore credible, by Hezel, Justi, Eichhorn, and among others even Herder.

Even the great and noble Herder hoped to avert ridicule from the Bible by defending the historicity of the miracles upon the ground of their being natural occurrences poetically expressed, according to the spirit of ancient oriental writers. Speaking of the fall of the walls of Jericho, he says: "If the walls fall by the sacred sound of trumpets, one must read this description in the spirit of that time, and he will cease to laugh. With the sound of trumpets was connected the battle-cry and the storming attack, etc." (*Geist d. Hebr. Poesie* II.). Yet this same Herder also writes: "As a child hears the voice of his father, as the lover the voice of his bride, so do we hear the voice of God in the Scripture, and perceive the sound of eternity that reverberates through it."⁽⁵⁾ "Prayer and read-

(1) *Ibid.* p. 272.

(2) p. 296.

(3) p. 303.

(4) II., p. 7.

(5) Cited by Hagenbach, *Geschichte* VII., p. 37.

ing of Scripture be thy daily morning and evening food," is the advice he gives to his young friend.⁽¹⁾ There were different classes of Rationalists, and different stages of Rationalism, but before the last stage was reached, even the most vulgar among them supposed themselves to be defenders of the Bible. Herder, with his religious and deeply poetic nature, and the coldly logical Michaelis sought to repel the mockers of Scripture, each in his own way. And so did many others. The miracles of the New Testament were defended in a similar way. The resurrection of the Lord was credible because he had only been in a trance and apparently dead. Paulus, of Jena, made himself the most notorious by his very offensive defenses of the New Testament. A very voluminous literature was produced in order to prove that the miracles were agreeable to the laws of nature, and thus to reason, and that the Bible was therefore honest and true. If this literature now only elicits a smile, we must read it "in the spirit of that time."

The Protestant dogmas began to appear ossified, and their unreasoning defenders had lost their hold upon the hearts of the people. Faith was of much doctrinal form and void of life. Orthodoxy did not address itself to the natural religious sense, but to the mere logical faculties. Pietism was exhausting itself. Pietism, with all the good it wrought, was destined to end in a reaction of hardened worldliness with a religious surface; as are all spasmodic religious movements which defy natural taste and spiritual modesty, and disparage regular development. Religious phrases ceased to find response in the hearts of the people with common sense. Religious phrases had lost their meaning from constant use by the lips of the self-

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 45.

deceiving or self-seeking, the enthusiasts, and the ignorant with spurious zeal to save souls. "Unctious speech" or "manners" and "pastoral prudence" became by-words in Germany for littleness, selfishness, and meanness. Thus, a crusted orthodoxy and pietism prepared the way for malignant invectives against Scripture, as well as against the ministers of religion, to penetrate through all the strata of society. Vulgar witticism against religion could find applause where self-asserted and self-complacent religionism had blunted the true religious sense and offended natural and spiritual taste. Symptoms became visible strongly resembling those of the time of decay of classic heathenism in Greece and Rome. Men supposed they could be free thinkers when they were slaves to themselves. Old things seemed to be entirely passing away, and there was a childish, hasty and impotent struggle for a something unknown, something new. The transition period, which still unsettles, perplexes and oppresses us, had just begun with the pangs of travail: no one knew what it was or what it would bring forth.

Derision, howling from across the channel, had found response in France, whence it re-echoed with increased and ghastly fierceness. France quivered, and struggled to prepare her bloody orgies, and to build a throne for Reason as goddess. Heaven and earth seemed to shake. And hell seemed to join in chorus, and innocence and honor to blush when Voltaire laughed. And Voltaire had laughed in Frederick's court! And the satyrs were heard on Germany's soil, and faith and hope seemed to vanish, and the covenant and promises were no longer remembered. And nations rose in maze, and some in derision, and some in fear asked for spiritual food, and triumphing or perplexed wondered where the *Word*, the *Word*, was! And fathers and mothers cried for meat, the

souls of their young to nourish. All looked to Germany's schools, and the gentle occupants of the students' rooms were awaked. But like the foolish virgins, unprepared, good natured, willing, but half in dream, they rose to help and seemed to grasp for something to give. But ah! it was a shadow, a shadow they had grasped. It was nothing, nothing, Rationalism!

A. JAEGER.

(To be continued.)

THE MAN MOSES.

IF we ask ourselves what have we, of this century and this continent, inherited from the past, and make that the estimate of men and nations, how light in the scale will many a brilliant history appear.

To judge correctly will, doubtless, require a vast, comprehensive intellect, equal to that of Bacon; and a judgment less biased. But while we might do injustice in our depreciation of some heroic names of the past, it is not possible to over-estimate the man whose name heads this article. I do not purpose entering into the long controversies as to how far he is the author of the Pentateuch; or how far in writing the same he borrowed from contemporary legends or wrote under a Divine revelation; but simply from undoubted authority to sketch the character and history of the man, who is often lost sight of in the controversies which have so much obscured his real greatness.

The life of Moses in Egypt was during the reigns of Ramses the Second, the Sesostris of the Greeks, and of Manepthah the Second, his son, before and after B. C. 1300. The first visit of Abraham, his great ancestor, to Egypt must have been as early as 1800 B. C.; while the Egyptian records of the Pyramid period go back still six hundred years more. Neither the Hebrew, the Egyptian nor the Chaldean

writings represent Egypt, or the nations of Western Asia, in a state of primitive barbarism, or indeed in a state which can be justly called barbaric. Barbarism is nowhere there depicted as the primitive condition of man; and we can hardly believe that all of the descendants of the man who was so skilled in ship building as to build the ark according to the measurements given, could have relapsed into the barbarism in which our ancestors were afterwards found across the Caucasus. The Egyptian monuments which go back to 2450 B. C. corroborate the Mosaic account. On them no signs are found of a progress from infancy to the more advanced stages of art, as nothing in the customs which they represent shows the social condition of the Egyptians to have been different at that early period from what it was in after centuries. So when we speak of the prehistoric period of any nation as uncivilized, or as in the infancy of art, we but acknowledge that that nation had fallen into a barbarism unknown to its earlier ancestors before they broke off from the great family of the human race in the valley of Armenia.

“Not only does the construction of the pyramids, but the scenes depicted in the sculptured tombs of this epoch,” says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, “show that the Egyptians had already the same habits and arts as in after times; and the hieroglyphics in the great pyramid written in the cursive character on the stones before they were taken from the quarry, prove that writing had long been in use. . . . We see no premature mode of life; no barbarous customs; not even the habit so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing side-arms when not on military service; nor any archaic art. . . . In the tombs of the Pyramid period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes as occur later; the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estates which was to be presented to the overseer; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast instead of the single mast of later times; the same trades, as glass blowers, cabinet makers and others, as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements and granaries; and if some changes took place, they were only such as necessarily happen in all ages, and were far less marked than in other countries.”

Renouf says:

"It is certain that at least three thousand years before Christ there was in Egypt a powerful and elaborately organized monarchy, enjoying a material civilization in many respects not inferior to that of Europe in the last century."

While Fergusson, the highest authority on architecture, speaks of the temple of Karnak, a large portion of which was built by Sethi the First and Ramses the Second, the grandfather and father of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, at once amongst the largest and now undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings in the world:

"St. Peter's with its colonnades and the Vatican make an immense mass," he says, "but as insignificant in extent as in style when compared with this glory of ancient Thebes and its surrounding temples. No language can convey an idea of its beauty, and no artist has yet been able to reproduce its form so as to convey to others who have not seen it an idea of its grandeur. The mass of its central piers, illumined by a flood of light from the clerestory, and the smaller pillars of the wings, gradually fading into obscurity, are so arranged and lighted as to convey an idea of infinite space; at the same time the beauty and massiveness of the forms and the brilliancy of their colored decorations all combine to stamp this as the greatest of man's architectural works; but such a one as it would be impossible to reproduce, except in such a climate, and in that individual style in which, and for which, it was created."

The reign of Thotmes the Third, who preceded the Exodus by about two centuries, testifies likewise to the advanced state of the arts in Western Asia, from which he received tribute equal to that paid the Romans and Parthians when Germanicus visited Egypt. The Augustan period of Egypt was the reign of Ramses the Second. It was an age which not only excelled its predecessors in the extent of its conquests and in its architectural wonders, but equally so in literature, in history, divinity, practical philosophy, poetry and romances. It was the age which at least sowed the germs of thought which afterwards led the

Greek philosophers to visit Egypt to learn their greatest discoveries. In Egypt, in her decline, Pythagoras learned the theory (called by us Copernican) of the sun being the centre of our system; there was also learned the obliquity of the ecliptic, the moon's borrowed light, the proof of the milky way being a collection of stars, the rotundity of the earth, and the principle by which the heavenly bodies were attracted to a centre and impelled in their order. The Greeks, it is said, did not know the length of the year until Eudoxus and Plato visited Egypt about 370 B. C.; and Cæsar owed to it the correction of the Roman calendar.

Some authors think that the Egyptians were, from their language, incapacitated for profound philosophy; and M. Renan has said that the Semitic races, from the same obstacle, were equally so. It is difficult to say what the Egyptian language was capable of, or how much it might have been modified, like our own, by foreign invasions and foreign association, so little of their literature really remains to us. But it is a strange verdict against the Semitic race when we remember the Neo-Platonic School of Alexandria, that Zeno the Stoic was a Phœnician, and that the Semitic races, with all their physical and material weakness, have combined a wonderful capacity for effecting the spiritual condition of our species by projecting into the fermenting mass of human thought new and strange ideas, especially of the most abstract kind, and have influenced far more than any other race the history of the world's mental progress; and the principal intellectual revolutions which have taken place are traceable mainly to them.

It was in this Augustan period of the Ramesids, amid those sublime works of art and in that luxurious age, that Moses was born and reared. The great authors whose names are given by Dr. Brugsch, and

to whose works we have above referred, were the contemporaries of his manhood. The accident of having attracted the attention of a princess, when an infant, gave him the advantages of the best education of the age; and his subsequent history and writings show that he fully availed himself of them. By birth he was sprung of a race that might be thought to be particularly obnoxious to the reigning family; although some Egyptologers have supposed that in the name of Sethi the First they see a more liberal spirit, especially on religious questions, than had been witnessed since the expulsion of the Hyksos. Some six hundred years previously, one of those great national upheavings, which have so often since occurred, drove the Semite settlers from the rich alluvial lands of Chaldea to the north of Western Asia, and in some instances across the Lebanon range. This irruption into Chaldea was probably that alluded to in the tenth of Genesis, under Nimrod at the head of his Cushite hordes. It does not for the present concern us whether this invasion was from Ethiopia, across the Persian gulf, or from the neighborhood of Armenia, that nursery of ancient, as Germany was of modern, nations. For African and Asiatic Cushites are equally known from the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments.

The ancestor and founder of the Hebrew nation was one of those who were driven across the Lebanon. It is not probable that he came unaccompanied by a sufficient body of his countrymen, not only to insure his personal safety, but to command respect; for from the first he seems to have received this latter from the Canaanites, and to have been regarded by them as a prince. So far as we can gather from the Egyptian monuments, it is not unlikely that he followed in the wake of the Hyksos invasion of Palestine and Egypt from Western Asia, which resulted

in placing on the throne of the latter country for three or four centuries the Shepherd kings.

The friendship existing between Abraham and Abimelech, King of Gerar, Melchizedek, King of Salem, both Semites, and the Hittite captain, who had settled in the extreme south of Palestine, so far from his national capital of Carchemish on the Euphrates, seems to point to some national, if not family, connection between them ; and the favor shown to him by the Egyptian King confirms this belief. But this favor was not shared by his descendants in the time of the Ramesids. The Shepherd Kings had been expelled from Egypt by the 18th Dynasty, and Ramses the Second had lately returned from his great victory over the Hittites, near Carchemish, which forever broke the sceptre of that once powerful race, which had once disputed with Egypt the empire of the world. So that at the latter date the Hebrews were looked upon as the remnant of a hated race which had once been the masters and now were the slaves of Egypt.

With the death of the great conqueror, however, the history of Egypt but tells the story, so oft since repeated, that virtues are rarely inheritable ; and the long brilliant reign of a great conqueror may but be the precursor of a longer period of national disaster and disgrace ; the gorgeous coloring that surrounds the setting sun.

Maneptah the Second succeeded to the throne of his great father shortly before B. C. 1300; and although he reigned sixty-six years, his whole reign is marked with disaster. The revolt of the Libyans in the West, of the Hebrews in the East, and the rebellion under a rival king of the family of the great Ramses in the South, made those long years a period of national decay, which was not checked, but for a

short time under the third Ramses, until the reign of Psammetichus I., in B. C. 666.

I do not pretend to question the miraculous account of the Hebrew Exodus, or to explain it. There is no mention of it on the monuments. This is not singular, as the Egyptian chronicler rarely mentions national disasters; and it was only by the Assyrian records that the discovery was made that Egypt was ever conquered by Assyria, and that Shishak was the son of the Assyrian Monarch. The saying of Mark Anthony over the body of Cæsar is, in a sense different from what he intended, strictly true in Egypt: "The evils of men live after them, the good is oft interred with their bones." The good is only on their sepulchres in Egypt, and the silence of the tomb is the severest sentence on Egyptian kings. The events which form the lamentable close of the reign of Manepthah the Second are passed over by the monuments with perfect silence, says Dr. Brugsch; and the dumb tumulus covers the misfortunes which befell Egypt and her king.

To say that Moses was aided by the death of Ramses the Second and the disasters which befell his son in no way detracts from the Biblical account. It is evident that the wonders in the land of Egypt were such as were peculiar to that country, or they would not have been so long unheeded; and although they had never happened before in such rapid succession, yet travelers tell of having witnessed very many of them on different occasions. I believe that even the charge of Pharaoh in the sea did not appear to him so rash as the account generally received would imply; and if Dr. Brugsch be right in his essay, read before the International Congress of Orientals, in London, in 1874, the retiring of the sea was not unprecedented. But, however accounted for, the narrative of those events was evidently

written by a contemporary; and it is easier to believe Moses to have been the author of the Pentateuch than to assign by far the greater part thereof to any other period of Israelitish history or of any other nation.

The Hebrew literature commenced with Moses; and the first five books of the Old Testament are attributed to him. The first of these gives a brief account of the creation of the world, an outline of the general history of mankind to the emigration of Abraham from Chaldea, with a fuller and more particular history of that patriarch and his descendants from that date to their settlement in Egypt. The authorship of this book is now but little questioned, except as to some immaterial interlineations inserted by later editors; since there is no other period in Jewish history in which it could have been written, and the writings of other nations which have come down to us show clearly that the book of Genesis could have had no other than a Jewish author. It is not the oldest writing in existence. As before said, literature was encouraged by the Egyptian kings of the earliest dynasties; and we have tales, proverbs, and pæans of victory, as well as hymns of religion, medical and magical papyri, prior to the Exodus, which have been preserved to our time in comparatively large numbers. But when we compare the well-known poem of Pentaur which gives so exaggerated a description of the wars and much vaunted heroic deeds of the second Ramses, or the tale of Batau and Anapu, which has so much in common with the history of Joseph, with the simple narrative of Genesis, we feel at once the strongly marked difference between the sound sense of the Hebrew historian and the unbridled phantasy that prevailed in the literature of the nation in which he had been reared. None of the Sacred Books of the Aryan races claim such an-

tiquity ; and the comparison between them and the Mosaic writings is as marked as between him and the Egyptian authors. There is an eternal freshness and vigor in the Jewish author that never fades ; and his historical writings are read by every succeeding generation, of every age and rank, with as much interest and feeling as though the actors had been of our own race and family ; while the Sacred Books of the East merely weigh down the shelves of a few libraries, and are seldom read twice, even by scholars.

It is not, however, simply in their style that these writings are so remarkable. They are equally remarkable for their truth and accuracy. A few years ago it was thought they could not stand the test of criticism, and some well-meaning men were accustomed to say that they rested on faith and not on reason. But of late years they have been subjected to the severest criticism ; and within its province, no book has stood the test of criticism better than the book of Genesis. The advances of science in philology, physiology and geology within the last half century have thrown a light on this book that was never dreamed of formerly. And how beautifully does that strange old book meet each advance ; keeping itself, as it were, ever abreast with the scientific researches not only in the so-called prehistoric times, but also in the times before man was upon the earth ; and compelling all candid scholars to acknowledge that the Hebrew author has alone given us the great chart of our race and habitation.

In what a few, masterly lines has he sketched the creation : the breath of Jehovah moving on the face of the deep, in which the vast, void, formless matter lay, before time was. A dim light is seen faintly hovering over the cold, lifeless mass, like that seen on a dark night by mariners, hovering over the sullen icebergs that float along our coast from the polar seas.

It was the great Azoic period. The earth presented a crystalline nucleus, and from its primary, lifeless, unstratified mass were formed our granites, porphyries and trappean rocks. Form and movement were the only features common to the earth of that first day and that of our own. Volcanic and thermic rather than organic agency came into energetic play when the light was first divided from the darkness.

The second day merely marked the division of the waters. It was a vast oceanic period, when were deposited our Silurian and Devonian rocks, and great placoid and ganoid fish ranged the seas. This was the period, says a learned writer on geology, in the *Edinburgh Review*, of the large and heavily armed fish, creatures of which the reptile affinities were so apparent to Linnæus that he classed the few remaining species as *amphibia nautia*, animals which afforded in their structure the promise of future forms of a higher and more varied life.

On the third day the dry land appeared, and the earth brought forth grass and herbs and trees in this, our limestone and carboniferous period. Animal life of air-breathing structure was not wanting in the great forests; and a terrestrial fauna as well as a terrestrial flora testifies to the activity of the terrestrial life during this great carboniferous period of the earth's history.

On the fourth day the sun appears; and climates and seasons and tides and winds, to some extent like those of our own time, have left marks of their course on this fourth period, which was the great saurian and reptile age. Reptile life, the animal life which of all kinds is most directly dependent on the sun, active in his rays and torpid in his absence, reigned over earth on the fourth day.

A second oceanic period again swept over the earth, and deposited our chalk, green sand, Purbeck and

Hastings beds, when also the waters brought forth abundantly fish, characteristic of our modern seas and rivers, and distinct in their anatomy from the children of an older ocean. Remains of birds are also found in the chalk, although they are, as is natural in marine deposits, rare. Great fish moved in the waters and fowl flew in the firmament of heaven on this fifth day.

The sixth day was what in geology is called the Kainozoic period; that is the modern or most recent period, when the mammalia appear on the scene, and cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth after his kind herald the advent of man.

We thus see this most remarkable coincidence between the succession of conditions through which our planet has passed since it was tenanted by living beings and even before, and this strange old Hebrew record which thus stands isolated in its geological accuracy until our own times, and which mapped out the sequence of the days of creation at a time when geology was undreamed of. Had that first chapter been found among the records of Egypt or Babylon or Assyria, the learned would have had no limits to their admiration; and geological scholars would have blushed to think what little advance they had made in their science in the many centuries since; and they would have received it as their very creed. But because it is found so simply written in the Sacred Book of the Hebrews, it has been the subject of the greatest cavilling and unfair criticism, to which no other book has been subjected. It may be answered that it comes from its admirers asserting that it is inspired by God. Whether inspired or not, I will not take upon myself to say; all I can say is that in no other ancient literature have we found its equal; and I cannot account for such knowledge, written so many centuries before geology was dreamed of, except by

some inspiration, or knowledge unknown by other nations.

The Mosaic account of the deluge finds its parallel in the Assyrian literature, from which I will give a short extract, to compare their similarity and at the same time the simple prose of the former with the poetic version of the latter. Hasisadra, relating it to Izdular, says under the command of the god Shamas he made a ship and caused to go into it all his male and female servants, the sons of his people and his gold, when Shamas shut the door:

"The raging of the storm arose in the morning, from the horizon of heaven extending wide. Vul in the midst of it thundered, and Nebo and Saru went in front, the throne bearers went over mountains and plains, the destroyer Nergal overturned, Ninip went in front and cast down, the spirits carried destruction, in their glory they swept the earth, the flood of Vul reached to heaven. The bright earth to a waste was turned, the surface of the earth it swept, it destroyed all life from the face of the earth. The strong deluge over the people reached to heaven. Brother saw not his brother; it did not spare the people. In heaven the gods feared the tempest. . . . Six days and nights passed, the wind, deluge and storm overwhelmed. On the seventh day in its course was calmed the storm, and all the deluge which had destroyed like an earthquake quieted. The sea He caused to dry, and the wind and deluge ended. I perceived the sea making a tossing, and the whole of mankind turned to corruption, like the reeds the corpses floated. I opened the window and the light broke over my face, it passed; I sat down and wept, over my face flowed my tears. I perceived the shore at the boundary of the sea, for twelve measures the land rose. To the country of Nizir went the ship; the mountains of Nizir stopped the ship, and to pass over it it was not able. The first day and the second day, the mountain of Nizir the same. The third day and the fourth day the mountain of Nizir the same. The fifth and sixth, the mountain of Nizir the same.

"On the seventh day in the course of it I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went and turned, and a resting place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a swallow and it left. The swallow went and turned, and a resting place it did not find and it returned. I sent forth a raven and it left. The raven went and the corpses on the water it saw and it did eat. It swam, and wandered away and did not return. I sent the animals forth to the four winds, I poured out a libation. I built an altar on the peak of the mountain, by seven herbs I cut, at the

bottom of them I placed reeds, pines and simgar. The gods collected at its burning, the gods collected at its good burning; the gods like flies over the sacrifice gathered."

From this extract it is evident that the Hebrew author has given to us very much the Chaldean version of the flood, blending two accounts into one; but as on all other occasions when he incorporates into his writings traditions and legends of other nations, they are always "reduced to strictly human proportions and cleared pitilessly of every trace of the mythic fancy." And while we find the traditions of that event in almost every other nation (excepting probably the African Hamitic races and the Chinese), yet in none do we find anything that comes more within the limits allowed now to history, or that bears on it more clearly the stamp of truth.

If the first chapter of Genesis has excited so much the wonder and admiration of geologists, the tenth, which immediately succeeds the account of the deluge, has no less excited the wonder and admiration of philologists and physiologists. By most readers it is generally passed over as a mere dry list of names; and in years past it was looked upon as merely a subject of ridicule. But modern research has found in it the very leading thread and chart of the early history of mankind. It traces the origin of all nations from a single pair, living at the base of the mountain range of Ararat, dividing the nations into three separate branches; and whether we regard these three branches as sons of one man or as three families or groups of nations, both philology and physiology trace mankind clearly back to three groups, the Semitic, Japhetic or Turanian, and the Hamitic, who once undoubtedly lived together and were most nearly allied in the valleys of Armenia, along the range of Ararat.

However unpalatable this may be to some, yet

ethnologists, in every additional inquiry they make, but confirm this Mosaic account; and difficulties that a few years ago were considered insurmountable have but thrown a more brilliant light on this wonderful chart of mankind, written nearly a thousand years before the birth of the father of Greek history, and when national prejudices almost shut out any inquiries into the condition or character of foreign nations. The authorities on this chapter have been so well collected and quoted by the editor of the first volume of the Speaker's Commentary, that I need but to refer to that volume, which so far excels in thought and information the subsequent volumes of that voluminous work which commenced with so fair a promise. I will only add that the difficulties raised by Professor Tiele, in his recent work entitled "Egyptian Religion," as to the Hamitic origin of the Egyptians, as their language is a mixture of Semitic and Aryan vocabulary, may be explained by what seems now to be well established by significant traits connected with the ethnology and philology of Egypt, namely, that the colonists or conquerors who came from Asia and who formed an aristocratic ruling class in Egypt, found in that country an Hamitic people whom they subdued, and with whom they became intermixed. Tiele has raised the same difficulty as to the Phoenicians, who were undoubtedly Semitic, when the author of Genesis tells us that Sidon was a son of Canaan; which Canon Rawlinson easily explains by showing that although the Canaanites founded Sidon, they were afterwards driven out from that city by the Phoenicians who, according to Herodotus, emigrated from the Red Sea, being driven thence by the advance of the Chaldean power which compelled Abraham and his countrymen to move to Haran and probably afterwards across the range of Antilibanus. It would indeed be strange that Moses should make such an error

as to the Egyptians when he is so correct as to the distant Asiatic nations.

From this sketch of universal history, after this chapter the Hebrew author confines himself almost entirely to the particular history of his own nation; but whenever he touches on the history of foreign nations, whose records survive to us, the facts related by him are singularly corroborated. For instance, the power of the King of Elam and his invasion of Palestine are both corroborated by the monuments of Babylonia; and the state of morals and society under the Pharaohs of that day are equally vouched for by the monuments and papyri of Egypt. Our limits will not allow us to cite instances. But every one conversant with Egyptian history will readily recall them. I do not think there is any ground for the supposition of Ewald that Jacob was not the direct grandson of Abraham, but a younger successor who headed a second invasion of Palestine from Mesopotamia, and being adopted by the old patriarch, succeeded to the headship of the clan. There is no history in which family traits stand out more strongly than in the Israelitish history, especially in its founders. In Jacob we find the shrewd, selfish cunning which was seen in every member of his maternal ancestors, Rebecca, Laban and Sarah; which is increased by his greater knowledge of the world; and there is also found in him the timidity, amounting even to cowardice, which were noticed in his paternal ancestors when they were away from the hills of Palestine and confined in Egyptian cities; just as is now found among their Arab descendants so soon as they enter the walled cities of the present day. While, above all these degrading characteristics, we see an exalted faith in his high calling as the heir of the promise which he is never willing to barter away, however high the price offered, or whatever his wants; but he

clings to it with a tenacity that would induce us to believe he better knew and valued its true worth more than his general moral character would incline us to believe. So far he was above any of his contemporaries that we know of ; while he had fallen very much below the standard of his grandfather. His eventful life closed with his assurance to his sons of the ultimate fulfilment of that promise which he handed down to them as their noblest and most valuable inheritance. Few writers even of fiction have drawn with more force and pathos the scenes of their romances than Moses has the varied scenes in the lives of Israel and his sons; and there is no modern history or novel that tells with more truth to nature its story of the present day than the Hebrew author narrated over three thousand years ago the simple stories of Joseph and his brethren, and of the old patriarch learning that his son, long lamented as dead, was still alive and a ruler in Egypt, and afterwards standing with him at the Court of Pharaoh. These stories have a youth, freshness and vigor which never fade, and are read, as before said, by every generation and at every period of life with a pathos and a tender relation to our own selves that few other authors inspire, and are in the strongest contrasts to the phantasies of the Egyptian writers of that period, or the harsh records of misery that are found inscribed amid the ruins of Babylonia, Chaldea and Assyria.

With the book of Genesis Moses closes the individual history and commences the national. The four following books, after narrating briefly his own early history and the national exodus from Egypt, contain the history of the march to Sinai, the encampment there for nearly two years, the enactment of the law and the two advances on Palestine, with a bare list of the places at which they halted during the thirty-seven and a half years intervening between

those two advances. We have no detailed history of those thirty-seven and a half years, and excepting but one or two events they are passed over in complete silence, except in the orations found in Deuteronomy, if that book can be attributed to Moses. The question of the authorship of the last book of the Pentateuch will probably divide Christian scholars for many ages yet to come.

It is difficult to say positively from its intrinsic evidence by whom or when it was written. The reference to a regal government and to the one centre of national worship are hardly sufficient to disprove the Mosaic authorship; for although Moses never aspired to kingly honors it was but natural for him to look forward to the time when Israel would adopt the same form of government which then existed in every other known nation; and the one centre of national worship, especially as there was but one national God, was equally to be expected.

On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how so many of his enactments should have been in abeyance for so many centuries commencing almost immediately after his death, and should have revived with such increased force during the reigns of the later kings of Judah, and especially after the Babylonish captivity. The law confining the priesthood to the family of Aaron and allowing no sacrifice to be offered except by his descendants at some fixed religious centre, was certainly not enforced, or even regarded, until the reign of David or later. Jephtha, Gideon and Samuel, not of the house of Aaron, never hesitated to sacrifice wherever the opportunity offered, whether in their private houses, or in public at Ramah, Bethlehem, or in the camp, although Shiloh, the religious centre, was but a short distance from them. And in the case of Samuel, he was regarded as the Divinely appointed successor of Eli,

although he was descended from the rebel Korah. The only explanation of these anomalies is that up to the election of David as the national king, the nation, immediately on its settlement in Palestine, became dissolved into its tribal elements, and the observance of the Mosaic law was merely optional among the various tribes, as the Books of Joshua and Judges clearly show.

There are few pages in history more melancholy than those chapters in the early Hebrew books which depict the struggle which the great Israelite leader had in his efforts to elevate his contemporaries to his own exalted thought and confidence. No statesman ever had material less fitted for his purpose; and we have to wait until the rise of the prophets before we find any full response to him among even a small body of his countrymen. Had he met with that response from those whom he led triumphantly out of Egypt there can be no question but that he would without difficulty have forced the lines at Kadesh, and have at once conquered the Canaanitish nations who had had hardly time to recover from the victories of the Second Ramses. He probably feared this when he turned towards Sinai instead of marching directly from Egypt to Palestine. The halt at Sinai was imperatively necessary; as even if under a religious enthusiasm, as Mahomed did in after centuries, he had at once burst through the desert barriers that defended Asia, it would but have been a temporary success of an undisciplined multitude, and the national life would have been wasted away in military camps. In Egypt they had but grown up into a multitude, retaining probably their traditions, but with no national organization, strongly attached to Egyptian customs and imbued with Egyptian thought. Moses was compelled to create the nation; but in creating this he could not break

off at once from Egyptian laws and customs; he was obliged to use them as a framework on which to weave the higher truths revealed to him.

In this he showed the great practical statesman, using existing institutions to educate the people to nobler principles, instead of leaving those principles to stand alone in their naked purity, as mere abstractions, fitted only for the few and not understood by the many, like the Utopian theories of Plato and other later philosophers.

In Egypt the Israelite had been accustomed to see the priestly office hereditary in some royal or noble house; he had seen the High-Priest clad in his pure linen robes, with the richly embroidered corselet, or "habergeon" (as our English version has it), like that which Amasis afterwards sent as a kingly present to the Lacedemonians, entering the holy of holies, or walking in procession after the sacred ark made of the shittim wood—our accacia—carried by staves on the shoulders of the inferior priests, with the winged figures, like the cherubim, overshadowing it, and containing in it the sacred image of the national deity. In the goddess Thmei (Θέμις of the Greeks) better known in her dual form of Thummim, and in Aor, the Hebrew word for the god Ra, they were accustomed to see the representations of the Divine righteousness and light, and, so, easily saw in the Urim and Thummim the light and righteousness of Jehovah. In Egypt, also, they had seen the priest take the red bullock and search well to see that no black hair was found on him, then kill him in the very manner prescribed by Moses, take the shoulder or other part allotted as the most choice offering to the deity, and distribute the remainder among his worshippers. They had also seen the Egyptian priest invoke on the head of the victim the sins of the nation; and although he was not driven out into the

wilderness, like the scapegoat, yet he was equally believed to carry away the national sins. They had likewise seen the Egyptian priest fill the carcass of the victim with bread, honey, fruits and aromatics, and could well understand the sacrifice of cakes and wafers mixed with oil. And the long fringes with the blue border, which they were ordered to wear, were worn by the better class of Egypt, while the sacred texts to be written over their door posts and on their garments were often seen in the neighboring nations, if not in Egypt.

These sacrifices may have been the world's types of the world's need of redemption; and the story of Osiris may be the echo of the earliest prophecy of the woman's seed bruising the serpent's head. I do not think it detracts in any way from the great Hebrew legislator to show that he borrowed these customs from other contemporary nations. Moses' greatness does not rest on such forms, but on the interpretation which he gave to them.

Modern research teaches us that we must go even still farther and admit that in the maxims found in the Egyptian writings are found not only the moral teachings of the second table of the Decalogue, but even some of those of the Gospel. Piety, loving kindness, pity, moderation in deed and word, chastity, protection of the weak, kindly dispositions towards inferiors, reverence to superiors and respect of property to the smallest iota, are virtues praised and celebrated and cited as good grounds for admission after death to the abode of the blessed by Egyptians inscribing their own epitaphs. While in Babylonia, by the Chaldean account of the creation published by the late Mr. George Smith, one of our greatest Assyrian scholars, it will be seen that the institution of

the Sabbath was regarded there as coeval with the creation:

"On the Seventh day he appointed a holy day,
And to cease from all business he commanded."

But it has been well said, while the purity of Egyptian morality has caused some astonishment, it must not be forgotten, however, that it remained stationary at the elementary stage, and its moral maxims never rose to the rank of principles.

It is probable that this was impossible in the rank state of polytheism then prevalent. For while polytheism has often produced philosophers teaching the highest maxims of morality, it has never made those maxims to be recognized as the principles of life either among the masses or even among the majority of the attendants on the schools of philosophy; and the greatest satirists are often the most immoral. Mankind has always required something higher than mere moral maxims to raise them to principles of life; there must be a higher sanction than the mere conscience, which can be so easily blunted. The maxims must become the law of the State, enforced by the supreme power of the State, before they will become the principles of life with the masses, or indeed with the most educated. History shows this; and if our laws are not now cast exactly in the same mould as the Mosaic laws, it is because the higher law of Moses and its natural consequence have trained us to the observance of our present law. Blot out from our memories the principles of the Decalogue and their natural sequence in the Gospels, and we should soon fall back to the immoral state of imperial Rome or the chaotic state of the first French Revolution. Nothing, therefore, shows the great statesmanship of Moses more than making the first three commands the pivot on which all of

his laws turned. "I am the Lord thy God ; I am Jehovah thy God ; thou shalt have none other gods but me," is the highest principle of all law and the source of every law. There can be no doubt that Moses first proclaimed Jehovah to the world. God, as the Creator and the Almighty, the Elohim and the Adonai, was in ages long past known. But Monotheism itself cannot be said to have survived. From the extracts above given from the Babylonian accounts of the creation and the deluge, as well as the scattered notices in the book of Genesis of the religious beliefs of Mesopotamia, re-echoed afterwards so beautifully by Balaam, it appears that the germs of the true religion had survived longer in the valley of the Euphrates than that of the Nile. For, although Monotheism is expressed in the clearest terms in many an Egyptian treatise, we cannot find a richer polytheism than under the Ramesids in Egypt. Attempts have been made to reduce the number of deities, but in this Egypt was as conservative as Rome; she did not mind how many were added so none were excluded. Her religion was a pure nature worship.

Among the Israelites there was still a living memory of their Patriarchs and probably of their religion, so simple and sublime in comparison with the superstitions of Egypt. But from the tardy response which Moses met with from his countrymen, except under momentary excitement, and from the histories of Babylonia and Assyria, lately brought to light, it is very evident that the belief in the one, supreme, spiritual God, ever present, had gradually faded from the minds of the Semitic races. The time had come for a new departure, if the human race were to be rescued. And no one can over-estimate the value to our race of the proclamation of Jehovah, one only God, beside whom there is no other, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and

fourth generation (the natural law of disease) and showing mercy unto thousands (the law of the eternal forgiveness). This was no merely optional belief with the Israelites under Moses. As before said, it was the fountain-head of the entire law, whether civil, criminal, or religious. To the assembled people was put the question whom they would elect their king, and by an unanimous vote they elected Jehovah, and the covenant between Him and them became their national constitution. This must be always borne in mind in studying the Mosaic law. Acts that we now pass over as not of public concern, but being simply between a man and his conscience (as is the fashion of the day to say), with the Israelites were treason, high treason, or petit treason, and were punished accordingly. Idolatry was high treason against the king, and a violation of the national constitution. The individual could not be separated from the nation. He was not sacrificed to the nation as in Rome and France; the nation and the individual, under the Mosaic law, were bound together inseparably; the one responsible for the other, and all under Jehovah. Thus the three classes of offerings represented distinct aspects of Divine truth, connected with man's nature to Jehovah. There was first the *Sin Offering*, which represented the national transgression of the law and need of an atonement for the people; and if this were made by the individual, as one of the nation, in truth and sincerity, he could then offer himself to Jehovah as an accepted person, as a sweet savor in the *Burnt Offering*; and, in virtue of this acceptance he could enjoy communion with Jehovah and His people in the *Peace Offering*. In some special services the order was different when the occasion was one when the consideration of personal holiness was subordinate to the consideration of the nation, as in reconse-

crating the Nazarite. But these were exceptional services, and the religious and civil and criminal laws all equally rest on the supreme truth that Jehovah is the supreme both with the nation and the individual, and that the nation and the individual are equally under his protection and guidance. This may have made, and, indeed, for many centuries did make, the religion tribal; but the circumstances of the times required it. Had it been made universal, catholic, like the Christian teaching, men would have soon relapsed into the darkest polytheism or atheism, as happened in all other countries, although they were all brought in contact with Israel, and at a time when strangers were admitted into the privileges of the Israelite. There were as early as David's time nearly 200,000 foreigners who enjoyed these privileges, and after the captivity the proselytes formed a very large class. Still it is remarkable how ill-prepared the world was for this great truth, and how far ahead of the nations was the Hebrew-Legislator.

Paschal says that the word "law" was known before the time of Moses. It was certainly unknown in the definition of Blackstone, namely, as "a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a State." His Decalogue contains the most complete and succinct principles of law found anywhere, and are indeed an epitome of the laws of Christendom; with the simple difference in their favor, namely, that God is the head of the nation, and the head of the family is His representative and the connecting link between Him and the people, as the fifth commandment is made the connecting link between the two tables of the Decalogue.

When I think of Moses at that time, how mightily his grand figure looms up in this world's history!

How much more truly might be said of him than of Greece,

His foundations are
Built below the tide of war,
Based on the crystalline sea
Of thought and its eternity;
This citizen, imperial spirit,
Rules the present from the past,
On all this world of men inherits
His seal is set—

He might have placed himself on the throne of Israel, but, like George Washington, he had views too large to be circumscribed by a crown. He had rather be at the head of a free republic, under a constitutional government, than wear any crown on kings' heads. Methinks he should be extremely dear to us in this age. He was the first republican; gave the first constitution to a people, equally binding on all and protecting all; the first man to protect equally under the law the stranger and the home-born; established the most just and best system of taxation; and he was the first free-trader. It took thirty centuries to find his equal in the love of liberty and equality under the law to all, and it will be long before his equal shall be found except in his prophetic successor. His precepts of government contain the highest principles of statesmanship, and are to-day more the study of thinking men than they have ever been at any former period. Our limits will not allow us more than to touch but briefly on them. Very recently Mr. David Wells, when requested to frame the best system of taxation, referred to that of the Hebrew legislator as the wisest, most judicious, most just and most free from fraud of any known. Under that, all taxes were imposed on the land, which was clearly before the eyes of all, and the value thereof could not be concealed or falsified if the people chose to examine

the returns; while personal property was never examined into, no government spies or informants allowed, and commerce was as free as the freest free-trader of the present day could desire, to go untrammelled whithersoever the merchant chose.

But while the taxes were thus imposed on the land, the estates of Palestine were as clear from burdens and impositions as any States can well be in the freest, best policed forms of government. The entire tax, for all religious and civil purposes, did not exceed 22 per cent. of the yearly income; while our tax for merely civil purposes, and not counting our yearly expenditures for religious purposes, if we include our license tax, exceeds 2 per cent. on our capital, real and personal, which is equal to 33 per cent. of our yearly income at our legal rate of interest, 6 per cent.

Again, the entire land of Palestine was divided equally among the Israelite families, and there was no family without its homestead. They did not hold this homestead under a yearly tenure of the State, as in Peru before the Spanish conquest, or under a like tenure of the Mir or Commune as at present among the liberated serfs of Russia. Every Israelite held his homestead in fee under Jehovah, and it was inalienable beyond fifty years. If debt overwhelmed him, he could mortgage it for any time not exceeding that period, and thus raise money to meet his necessities; but the fee remained inalienable, and at the expiration of that time returned to the mortgagor, or his heir, whether the debt were paid or not. This was one of the wisest provisions of the law, and is now regarded as the greatest safeguard against a destitute class, and the only remedy for the distresses of Ireland.

The penal laws of Moses differed from our own, from the great constitutional difference above noted.

Jehovah being the constitutional head of the nation, religious opinions and rites were not optional but obligatory, and therefore idolatry and blasphemy were equivalent to treason and punishable with death. For the same reason were adultery and disobedience to parents punished in like manner; as the father of the family was looked upon as the representative of Jehovah in his own house, demanding honor by reason of this sacred relationship. But this did not give the father the arbitrary power which he exercised under the ancient laws of Greece and Rome, which in the former gave him absolute power over his slaves and children, and in the latter armed him with the power of life and death over his children, and even allowed him to sell them three times over.

While these laws may appear to us as very severe, yet in all other respects the Hebrew penal laws were more lenient than those of most modern nations until within the present century. Every one remembers the penal laws of England before they were ameliorated by the exertions of the great Romilly, one of the greatest benefactors England ever had. Until that time the theft of five shillings sent a man to the gallows; and the so-called legal trials before a jury of free Englishmen, narrated by a barrister in a book now almost forgotten, entitled "The Experiences of a Barrister," formed a sad and fearful contrast between the penal code of the Hebrew Legislator, 1300 B.C., and that of Europe in A. D. 1800, an interval of over 3,000 years. By Moses' laws no injury affecting property only was punished with death. Restitution was required, or an additional fine imposed, suited to the nature of the offence; or, at the utmost, if the offender was too poor to make restitution or pay the fine, he might be sold as a slave to one of his own countrymen for a period not exceeding seven years, at the end of which time he was liberated; not, how-

ever, in destitute circumstances, as our convicts who have served out their time are thrust out of our penitentiaries on a cold world with every heart closed against them. But the Jewish thief who had been sold into slavery because he could not pay the fine at the expiration of his sentence, was not sent away empty, but was furnished by his master "liberally out of thy flock, and out of the floor, and out of thy wine-press; of that wherewith Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah thy God redeemed thee." It was not merely when liberated that the late slave was thus treated; during his servitude he was as much under the protection of the law as any free man. If he should be struck by his master so as to be in any wise maimed, even to the loss of a tooth, he was immediately entitled to his freedom, and if killed by his master the latter was punished with death. The chastity of female slaves was equally protected. Concubinage was allowed as among all other nations of that day, but if even a foreign captive became a concubine and displeased afterwards her master, she could not be sold as a slave but was entitled to her freedom—a law which was not observed in this country a few years ago.

The law as to manslaughter was somewhat a concession to the age. It was impossible to suppress private revenge, especially when death had occurred, among the nations of that day. Hereditary wrongs have always received a certain sanction among Asiatic peoples, and not indeed among them alone. The law of the sanctuary was the only temporary protection afforded to the unhappy fugitive, and with the Greeks exile seemed to be the only safeguard. As he could not eradicate this type of the savage in man, the Hebrew Legislator met the difficulty in the best way

the age afforded. On both sides of the Jordan he established cities of refuge to which the manslayer might fly and remain there in perfect safety until after his judicial trial; and it was made one of the special duties of the national senate to make the roads leading to these asylums ninety-six feet wide and to keep them in as good order as possible, repairing them every February (the month Adar), removing every obstacle, levelling even hillocks, and seeing that there was no river over which there was not a bridge on that *via sacra*. Many an unhappy man in our age has wished that there were here such cities of refuge to give him that protection which the officers of the law are even now too weak to give.

In its trials the Jewish law allowed no torture before conviction or cruelty after it. It guarded innocence against perjury by directing that no man should be capitally convicted except by the concurrent testimony of two unimpeached witnesses, and inflicting on the witness convicted of falsehood whatever punishment his testimony if credited would have imposed on the accused. Their trials also were not before single magistrates or in private, but were in public, at the city gate, the usual market place, by the Judges, the Elders and Levites, who were taken from the general mass of citizens, and therefore, like our jurors, well acquainted with the character of the parties, the credit of the witnesses, and every circumstance to be considered in the cause.

Greenleaf, our highest authority on the law of evidence, thus interprets the Hebrew law before verdict can be pronounced, found in 17 Deuteronomy, v. 4: "If it be told thee (*viz.*, in a formal accusation) and thou hast heard it (upon legal trial) and inquired diligently, and, behold, it be true (satisfactorily proved) and the thing certain (beyond all reasonable doubt);" which corresponds very nearly with

our law in criminal proceedings, commencing with the indictment by the grand jury, the trial by the petit jury, the presumption of innocence in favor of the accused, and then demanding satisfactory proof beyond all reasonable doubt before he can be convicted.

The consideration and protection of the foreigner visiting and even residing in Palestine was also one of the marked differences between his laws and those of all other contemporary nations, and indeed of the nations of the present day. How touchingly he enacts this law; so often repeated, "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger; for ye know the heart of a stranger seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am Jehovah, your God." There can be given no fuller protection to the foreigner; and how strong the contrast between this Mosaic law and those of Greece and Rome, and indeed of all modern nations until a very recent date. We recall the severe punishment inflicted on St. Paul before trial at Philippi, and how the magistrates of that Roman city feared when they heard that they were Roman citizens—citizenship only protected them, and not their innocence. If protection to life, limb and property be the test of civilization (and I think it is a far higher test than imperial palaces or classic temples), then I must acknowledge that in my opinion the laws of Moses testify to a far higher civilization than was witnessed in ancient Greece or Rome.

I have not time to go further into these laws, and have confined myself to those which I believe were first enacted by Moses and originated with him.

There was no doubt before him a more ancient system of laws, unwritten, the *lex non scripta*, the common law founded on custom: such as those of diet, dress, funeral rites, etc., etc., some of which are now inexplicable; but many of them are traceable to rites connected with the worship of the Phœnician goddess Ashtaroth or Astarte, the Ishtar of Assyria and the Nama of Babylonia, resembling in their obscenity and immorality the later Bacchanalian mysteries. These prohibitory laws Moses re-enacted because of peculiar circumstances, and his sanitary laws are said by physicians to be the most conducive to health, especially in warm climates, and are still in force in Mahommedan countries. Our subject has been the study of Moses himself and what the world owes to him, and I cannot conclude better than in the words of Ewald:

“In Moses, therefore, the mighty originator and leader of this entire new national movement, the appreciation of the grand comprehensive thought just described, and the courage it inspired, must first have become firm as a rock. He himself must first have been regenerated, redeemed and marvellously strengthened by it. Without this assumption total darkness obscures the history; but its necessity and its truth are vouched for by the entire subsequent course of events. That thought, with the elevation of the pure spirit which it generates, is too grand and unparalleled to have at first attained its full power anywhere else than in the energetic concentration and compact strength of soul of a single individual, since the same grand and original thought does not spring up with equally irresistible power and clearness in many minds at the same time, and every indication reveals that this one person was no other than Moses himself.”

JOHN DUNLOP.

THE THEOLOGY OF TO-DAY AS IT CENTRES THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.

PAGANISM and Christianity are diametrically opposed in their conception of human nature's central hope—its belief in an ever-present God in the midst of the world and human life.

To the pagan mind the world has existed for ages in some way, and at the remote beginning of all things stands God, just as the first chalking of a long line drawn upon a black-board is the beginning of the line. In other words, God is pushed back from the bustling verities of the present world through space and time until matter has a beginning, and when matter begins there God is found—a *Deus ex machina*, but a God in some way inwrought with the dawning, phenomenal world.

To the Christian mind, on the other hand, God exists outside of the boundary lines of time and space. "I am hath sent thee," said the Almighty in his vision to Moses. "Before Abraham was, I am," said our Lord to the Jews who stood around him deriding His claims of Messiahship.

These are certainly striking assertions of the doctrine which has long been forgotten and which is dawning upon the world just now with such a conscious sense of power, that God is present in His world and in human nature, and that this is what the revelation of truth in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ means: that the doctrine of a far-off, absent God is

essentially a pagan doctrine and brings about essentially pagan results in the development of thought.

Plato's dream of an ideal reality, underneath the material creation, becomes actual in the Christian doctrine of the timeless existence of God and his revealed presence in human history.

I want in this paper to speak about the coming theology and its method of expression as found in the central doctrine of Christianity, the fact and the power of the Incarnation.

All the new growth of positive Christian truth, all the fresh flowering of religious impulse, all the reconstructive theological tendencies of the age we live in come from the re preaching of this doctrine of the Incarnation—God manifested in the flesh. Fifty years ago the burden of preaching was to the effect that Christ was present once in the world, and that it was the atonement upon Mount Calvary which united this wandering world to God. Now, while it is just as truly maintained that that one act was the historical and official impact of the Saviour saving the world, the other great truth is brought out to the light with a new power and meaning; and when we think of it as the power of God we think of Him as to-day, one with His Church by the contact of a living faith which sees within the veils, and not only and alone as one who 1800 years ago was with his people for the mere fragment of a lifetime.

This eternal life of God outside of creation, time, and human history, while it is the basis of all theistic philosophy, is also the cardinal tenets of the Christian religion.

It has been forced up into the light again at the present period, and it comes out before the world with a right or philosophical side and with a crude or superficial side. But I believe the crudities and superficial inferences will disappear in

time before the rounding, polishing processes of that Christian truth which is eternal and must abide. It is this doctrine of the Incarnation coming to the light as a forgotten reality or a long lost treasure which is the beginning of all that new expression of theology which is asserting itself to-day, and which will change the basis of theology from a far off theological basis to a present Christological one. It is this doctrine of the Incarnation, hugged and embraced by the unrelenting Church of Rome in her dogma of the Mass, as the horns of the altar and the city of refuge whither the avenger of man's soul dare not tread, which has kept the idea of a rational supernaturalism alive in the Church, as after all the one only motive power of the Church's life. (Frothingham). It is the raging forth of this dogma of Rome, based upon the doctrine of the Incarnation or the fact of an ever present Christ with us, which has given us that latest departure in the religious world, known as ritualism, a tendency which has both a superficial and a deeply earnest side, and whose bright and positive side is rooted and anchored in the new realization and new preaching of this doctrine of the Incarnation.

Perhaps the Church may have stumbled over the manner of Christ's presence with us in the past or in the present; but even this stumbling amid the verities of our faith will not be in vain if it leads the Church to recast its habit of thought and expression and to build up its theology for the future—not upon the pagan doctrine of a far off Deity, but upon God's presence in human history and in human nature as an eternal historical and spiritual fact.

It was this belief which nerved the Apostles in the impact of the early beginnings of their faith with the dying beliefs of Paganism.

It was no far-off Jewish God, no traditional Jeho-

vah, Jove or Lord, which made these once-timid men so strong to do service for their Master. Never could these men forget the scene of the Crucifixion, or the joy of Easter-day, or the glory of the Mount of Ascension. That which impressed them with such a tremendous sense of their Master's power and authority over nature and man, was the fact that at last they perceived that God was in Christ, as He had never been in human nature before.

Here was the long-promised Emmanuel—God with us. And it was this belief which made the disciples so strong and gave to the Apostle to the Gentiles his overwhelming command over his fellow-men. For Christ did not promise His disciples the gift of an infallible Book, or an infallible Church, or an infallible Vicegerent. He promised them Himself. He promised He would be with His people to the end of time. Like tired, doubting sailors ready to dispute over chart and compass, and draw opposite conclusions from the same printed instructions, the Apostles were hovering around their Lord, burdened with the sense of their responsibility, and wondering how they were to conduct this newly-formed Christian Church. But when Jesus, the great Master pilot, born to rule and made to be leaned upon, said to them, "I am with you; I am in the ship," then their imaginary fears broke away, and they were calm and strong again. And this is what I mean by the inner power of this repatched truth of the Incarnation.

It is Christ as Emmanuel, God with us, not as a pious expression, not as a mere title found in the Bible, not as a dogma of theology, but as a living and abiding fact.

And the difference between Christianity as a force among the other forces of human life and Christianity as a theological science, built up out of traditions, syllogisms, metaphysics, and ecclesiastical

conventionalities, is the difference between Christ present in His Church and in the world He came to save, and this or that human interpretation of the doctrine of His presence.

The one is an abiding religious principle and is a power; the other is a theological science depending upon the intellectual condition of men's minds, and is at best an opinion or a bundle of opinions. It is the difference between the Master—silent, it may be, but yet after all in His own ship—and the distressed sailors disputing in the storm as to the meaning of the written order, and as to how they shall sail the battered and uncertain bark. And this is just the difference which we find among the commonest facts of everyday life. We may know a pearly gem, or a rift of light, or a simple flower, as a fact, without at all beginning to understand the scientific interpretation of it. Or, as Tennyson puts it,

“ Flower in the crannied wall,
 I would pluck you from the crannies;
 Hold you here, root and all,
 In my hand,
 Little flower : but if I could understand
 What you are, root and all,
 And all *in* all,
 I should know what God and man is.”

One of the commonest tendencies which comes home to us all in the habitude of our ordinary modes of Christian thinking is to live by spasmodic theological epochs, and to wonder what is coming next when the next new epoch comes. We soon find out in childhood, under the average Sunday School instruction, that there have been thus far in the history of the world three periods, when in a special way God's hand has been manifested in human history: the epochs of Creation, and of Redemption, and of Sanctification—or, as the Catechism has it in its summing

up of the Apostles' Creed, we learn, first, "To believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world ; secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind ; and thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the people of God."

Not very long ago I heard a Christian minister, while preaching, declare his wish that the present dispensation of the Holy Spirit might come to an end, in order that the next manifestation of God's power might be seen, and that His Almighty arm might be made bare before the nations of the earth.

But this dead lock which the formal and mechanical type of mind puts upon the present, simply because it is the present and is neither the future nor the past, is an utter travesty of the revealed will and purposes of God. Such thoughts of an absent Deity, and such words with reference to him are worthy of Eligah's bitter scorn when he stung into a logical and consistent rage the false priests of Baal: "Either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or, peradventure, he sleepeth and must be awakened." We wind everything up in what we are pleased to call a dispensation, as though all the power of Christianity was to come streaming from that far-off hill-top of Galilee where our Lord last touched the Earth before he ascended into Heaven, and that terrible cloud which has all these many years hung over our human hopes, shut Him forever out of our sight.

Just think of it! as if God had forgotten His world, as if He himself were not in it; as if the law and harmony of His purposes could never be interrupted by this *deus ex-machina* lodged somewhere behind the complicated mechanism until it had finished to the utmost its wound-up tune, or as if the clock was wound up to run a certain length of time, and strike a certain number of predestined hours, while the key

of the timepiece was hung upon some pivotal epoch called a dispensation, and the schoolhouse was locked by the master who was absent, and none of the children could ever get the key or do anything to help matters until the doors were opened from without, and the long-absent Teacher had come back once more.

And that is why the Church of Rome, amid all its errors, falsities and superstitions, is the magnificent power we see to-day with its autocratic claims and supernatural gifts, and holds undoubtedly in trust some gift for the Church of the future. And this is because it does not divorce God from the life of man and the world, but declares that whenever He performs a miracle or does a work, it is God's miracle and God's work; that the finite limitations of time, such as present, past and future, have nothing whatever to do with Him who is always the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

This power which is hidden in the doctrine of the Incarnation links itself on to our human history and becomes part of the inheritance of the human race. Once in the order of time, according to the long expected promises, the Saviour came. Once He was here in this world of ours: once the blood-drops of His atonement fell upon the place of a skull and no malign power can ever wipe that fact away. This is not a hope or a belief, a sentiment or a wish; it is an abiding human fact. And in this way the realization of this doctrine of the Incarnation comes to the Christian consciousness like some forked lightning flash out of Heaven. It is powerful where it strikes, and like the lightning it is vivid and breaks into two bestriding sides. It comes to the Christian Church on the one hand with an electric wave of impulse, and we call it mysticism: it comes to another portien of the same Church with a sort of burning glass glare

which has almost a physical scorch in it, and we call it sacramentalism. In the former phase of its power the Holy Ghost becomes incarnate as it were in the spiritual emotions of man: in the latter, Christ is taught as present in the sacraments, and thus the opposite wings of the Church draw off and separate. But under all this varied interpretation of the methods of Christ's influence with us, the root and basis of the doctrine of this standing doctrine of the Incarnation is here and can never be argued down.

And it is this doctrine, which as we have seen has been forced up into the light to-day and is slowly settling down to take its position as the central doctrine—the keystone in the structure of the theology that must appear as the expression of the changed thought of this busy, scientific, utilitarian century.

The history of this doctrine and the philosophy of its rise into the important place which it takes in the thought of to-day, is interesting and very suggestive.

Hegel announced the philosophical security for this truth of the immanence of God in human nature.

Wordsworth tuned his sensitive and intuitional soul to this same thought. We see this in his *Ode on Immortality* and in his simile in the *Excursion*, about the child applying the shell to his ear and catching the sounds of the far off sea. What a cry for an interpreter of life's mystery is found in those well known words:

“Even such a shell the universe itself
Is to the ear of faith; and there are times
I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
Authentic tidings of invisible things,
Of ebb and flow, and ever during power;
And endless peace, subsisting at the heart
Of endless agitation.”

But such a Christian Pantheism as this must needs

find a voice in human nature. The human instinct for a Christ must find a Christ. And it is the Christ as we shall presently see, who in the truest manner reveals God to humanity. Let us see for a moment how this Christ was found in Germany and in England.

Let us take two well known philosophers; Schleiermacher and Coleridge.

In speaking of the former, Maurice says in his *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*:

"The Moravian discipline in which he was brought up was unsatisfying to his intellect; it did not meet the doubts respecting the sacred records which were awake in his time, and which affected him. But it left a deep impression on his heart. By degrees the two demands of the heart and the intellect became more distinguished in him than they have perhaps been in any man. His heart must have a religion; It must resign itself absolutely, unreservedly to God. At first, the all embracing divinity of Spinoza seemed to meet his needs. He could repose in that. As his personal necessities deepened, he became more conscious that he must have a personal being upon whom he could cast his own burden and the world's burden. He believed in all his heart in such a being. He set him forth to his fellows as the only home for their spirits, the guide of their conduct. A very present helper he sought and found, and led numbers who were weary of systems of divinity to seek and find. But apparently no one with so much of this faith, cared less for a history of the Divine acts, no one was more perplexed by a revelation which imported to come in the form of a history, to discover first the divine king of a nation, then the divine head of all nations. What he found in that revelation which answered to the cravings of his heart and of human hearts he accepted: that belonged to religion. The rest concerned the intellect; it might be dealt with merely by the intellect."

What a true description is this of a seeker after truth, whose two avenues of search, the intellectual method and the method of the spiritual faculty led up to that central personage of human history in whom these two methods of approach met.

And again Maurice writes in analyzing the peculiar intellection of Coleridge's system:

"He, that is Coleridge, learnt that if he could believe in God,

other difficulties would be nothing to him. That was the infinite difficulty. But he discovered that it was also the infinite necessity. He could believe nothing till he had this ground of belief. To feel this rock at the feet, to know that it was a rock, he had need to be shown something also of what he himself was.

"There was a point at which the old faith of his land intersected the most modern philosophy of another land. The demand for being by Plato, by Spinoza, by the Germans since Kant, was not an idle demand.

"The I am, that I am who spoke to the Hebrew Shepherd, awakened it and answered. The demand for unity by philosophical or religious schools was not an idle demand. The name which was written upon the Christian child satisfied it. The belief in a Father which Priestley and the unitarians had inculcated, was a deep and true belief. But that it might be real and practical, that it might not mock men with the idlest hope, there must be a union between the Father and his children, there must be a redemption from evil."—Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, Vol. II, 668.

I have quoted these two passages from the pages of Maurice's *History of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* to show how these two representative men—Schleiermacher and Coleridge—the one in Germany and the other in England, arrived at this necessity for the doctrine of the incarnation, and of their philosophical investigations, and in the recoil of their minds from the fascinating but nebulous system of Spinoza's pantheism. God was in the world, they said. Nature reflected the Deity at every turn. But human nature was a spark of nature; was God in human nature? they asked. A being the soul must have to lean on. And thus they came to the realization of the old truth in a new setting—a setting, a form of expression which was the sure reaction from the conventional Augustinian theology of the Latin and the Reformed Church—that God was in Christ in a kind and in a degree in which He was in no other being, and that this God-man was the world's hope, the way, the truth, and the life.

The Oxford movement and the latitudinarian reaction from this return to the usages of the primitive

Church, were the next steps in the progress of our present day theology. We are familiar with the story of this upheaval at Oxford, and the many elaborate and carefully prepared reviews of the late Dr. Pusey and his work are fresh in our minds at the present time. And yet, when the history of this age comes to be written, as one has said: "The movement in which Dr. Pusey was a prominent leader, which, indeed, was known by his name, will be looked back upon as the most important crisis through which the Church of England has passed since the days of Archbishop Cranmer. The world has swept on and has virtually left Puseyism behind;" but there can be no doubt that the Oxford Movement, or Tractarianism, or Puseyism, as it has been called, has been a quick and potent element in English life and thought.

This movement while it was clad in the armor of ritual, and seemed to be the revival of a spirit of form and ceremony, struck for a living present Christ in the world, in the place of a dead Christ upon the cross eighteen centuries ago. It was in a strange way, as I have already said, the outcome of this newly realized doctrine that God was in His own world in the Person of Christ: He was not only once here when He hung upon the cross on Mt. Calvary.

Every great movement or awakening period, and every new stimulus upon our energies, breaks into one of two lines; either into the life of further study and retirement, or into the arena of immediate action. It is difficult in any philosophy of thought to find out always the exact relationship of one thing to another, though we know that an unseen relationship exists.

Inspiration works in zigzag paths, like the uncertain currents of lightning; and it is hard to tell just where it will strike. "Oh, that I could know more" is the cry of those who receive the impress of their inspiration as knowledge; and this cry, this yearning

of the nature led on to the movement which took the name of its literature and was called the Movement of the Essays and Reviews. "Oh, that I could do more" is the cry of those who find the inspiration of a new movement leading them out into the world of action.

This was the motive which led the other wing of the Church to the philanthropies and practical charities which the genius of ritualism has handled with such a firm and steady Christian grasp.

But, after all that we may say about it, this Oxford movement was philosophically the legitimate result of Coleridge's philosophy, as Coleridge's philosophy with Wordsworth's poetry finally settled out of a nebulous pantheism into the definite clearness of a positive but a reconstructed Christianity.

It is Martineau in his striking essay upon the "personal influences of our present theology," who so happily classifies these divergent tendencies when he says:

"To these three movements, distinguished by the names of Newman, Coleridge, and Carlyle, must be mainly ascribed the altered spirit in regard to religion, pervading the young intellect of England."

Could any classification be clearer than this? The Oxford movement broke into three divisions; the right wing, following Newman, went to Rome; the left wing, following the teachings of Carlyle, has led out into the barren lot of what Martineau felicitously calls "Germanism;" and the central division, holding fast the reformed and readjusted faith, has held that ground which the spirit of an on-moving Christianity has always claimed in advance for that highest civilization which the principles of Christ have always dominated. I mean by this, that one current of this century has eddied off towards Latin ecclesiasticism; another current has whirled its way around to Ger-

man refinement of expression; while the main stream has swept right on towards a definite future, and has brought down the stream of history to that future, the most sacred traditions of the past.

The next important event, after the Oxford movement, was the publication in America of Dr. Horace Bushnell's Works, "Nature and the Supernatural, and the Vicarious Sacrifice."

Directly in the line of Coleridge and Maurice, this distinguished divine has presented the American Church with the curious spectacle of a Puritan theologian, explaining and enforcing the hidden principles of *Anglicanism*. For an analogy to this, we must imagine, if we can, a fire-eating southerner of the Palmetto State maintaining in the territory south of Mason and Dixon's line, the principles of Wm. Lloyd Garrison's abolition sheet, "The Liberator."

No doubt the Church of England, by her state connection and by her persistent bringing forward of the outward or ecclesiastical form of Church life, had forgotten the spiritual seat and origin of her two cardinal dogmas—Baptismal regeneration and Eucharistic grace. But it was reserved for a Puritan divine out of the system of New England Congregationalism to discover and drag out to the light these two priceless gifts which the Anglican Church, in a mute and unconscious way, had been holding in trust for the human race.

Bushnell's Christian Nurture, as being the truest interpretation of the Anglican position with reference to the sacrament of infant baptism, and the "Vicarious Sacrifice," as being the truest interpretation of the long-neglected doctrine of the Incarnation, as held in the Anglican view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, are most valued gifts on the part of the American Church to the theology of the Church Catholic, and are a wonderful explanation, from the Puri-

tan extreme of Protestantism, of that persistently moving middle current of rational theology which has been encased in the formulas and liturgy of the great Anglican communion—she that in heart is free—and is the mother of us all.

The strife and the contest which followed the publication of Dr. Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* is well known to all students of the history of the Church in New England.

But this storm was redoubled when the "*Vicarious Sacrifice*" appeared. And the paradox about this whole matter was, that while he seemed to destroy the very foundations of the orthodox faith in the doctrine of the atonement, he persisted in maintaining that he was only after all explaining and enforcing the altar view of Christ's Sacrifice, as witnessed in the celebration of the Eucharist in the Anglican communion.

For myself I know of nothing so profound and discerning in the history of modern theological writings as Dr. Bushnell's last chapter in the *Vicarious Sacrifice*, in which he pleads for human redemption by the incarnation of Jesus Christ, as seen in the form of the altar service and by the use of the altar symbolism and phraseology. The deliverance of our souls from sin, and the deliverance of our minds from the burden of their own self-consciousness, is found in throwing ourselves upon the fact of the incarnation, while the objective side of worship—found in the sacraments and in the altar service—delivers our souls from the subjective anxiety which a too lavish Protestant introspection has brought with it as the den-like shadow of so much light. And in this view of the atonement the Incarnation is both a deliverance of our souls from sin and of our minds from their own subjective anxiety; and the meaning of the strong human tendency to drift towards the sacramental

expression of worship is thus explained by this American divine of Puritanism as a philosophical necessity of the mind to free itself from the constantly pressing burden of a painfully conscious subjectivity.

And in this way the insistence of the Anglican faith upon the sacrament of moral cleansing and the sacrament of spiritual nutrition is explained by Dr. Bushnell, as after all the gift to the Church of the Anglican reformers of the one great fact that Christ is present with His people in the act of moral cleansing and education, and in the act of communion of spirits.

"I could not excuse myself," he writes, "in the closing of this last chapter, if I did not call attention directly to the very instructive and somewhat humbling fact that we are ending just where Christianity began. After passing around the circuit of more than eighteen centuries, occupied alas how largely in litigations of theory and formula, we come back at last to say, dropping out all the accumulated rubbish of our wisdom, preach Christ just as the Apostolic Fathers and the Saints of the first three centuries did, viz., in the facts of His personal life and death; and these facts in the forms of the altar. If we look at the effects wrought, these first three centuries of Christian preaching have never been matched in any other three, and yet they had no formula at all of atonement, and had not even begun, as far as we can discover, to have any speculative inquiries on the subject. All our most qualified historians agree in this and we can see for ourselves from the Epistles of Clement and other Apostolic Fathers, so called—that no such inquiries had yet arrived. Is it then to be the end of all our litigations—theories and attempted scientific constructions, that, after our heats of controversy have cooled, and our fires of extirpation have quite burned away, we come back to the same kind of preaching alphabet, in which the first fathers had their simple beginnings? Be it so, and yet the labour we have spent is by no means lost, we shall come back into that preaching with an immense advantage gained over these fathers. What they did in their simplicity, we shall do in a way of well directed reason.

"Their simplicity, in fact, supposed the certainty of all these long detours of labour and contest to come afterwards; but we, in our return, come back with our experiments all made, and detours all ended, not simply to preach Christ in just their manner, but to do it because we have finally proved the wisdom of it, and the foolishness of everything else, advantages that are worth to us all they have cost."

And again, in this same closing chapter of the "Vicarious Sacrifice," Bushnell writes of the uses and ways of modern preaching, as follows:

"They begin with the grand primal fact of the Incarnation, for it is only in that and by that mystery that the Person arrives whose history is to be entered into the world. Considered as the God-man there is not a single fact or scene in the history which, fitly conceived, does not yield some lesson of power: the infancy, the thirty years of silent preparation, the recoil of the poor human nature, called the temptation, where the work begins; every healing, every miracle, every friendship, every condemnation, every denunciation, the lot of poverty, the hour of oppressed feeling, the weariness and sleep, the miraculous hem of His garment, the transfiguration, the prayers, the amazing assumptions of a common glory and right with the Father, the agony, the trial, the crucifixion, the resurrection, the appearances and tender teachings afterwards, and, last of all, the ascension, followed by the descent of the Spirit to represent, and be Himself, according to His promise, a Christ everywhere present, everywhere accessible, no longer limited and localized in space; in all these and in all He said and taught concerning God, Himself and us, the preacher is to find staple matter for his messages. There is almost nothing, even as to his mere manners and modes, which, if He is truly alive, will not open some gate or crevice into chambers of glory for the conscience and the heart."

It is Prof. Allen in his recent essays in the *Princeton Review* on "Theological Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century," who has called the attention of students of Church history to the entire subject, which Dr. Mulford has brought before the public in his treatise on theology. A diligent student of Church history himself his mind is surcharged with the subject, and by his rare felicity of thought and expression he has given voice to the unuttered thoughts of many whose hearts have been weary upon this theme.

Dr. Mulford's Republic of God is the next important theological product of the thought of this age. This is a book of to-day and the judgment of to-day is not final or absolute.

It is seldom given to the men of any age to see

the ultimate development of the thought of their age, but the wide and varied criticism of this institute of theology insures its safe position and its continuance as a fountain of investigation while the calm seer like rhythm of its postulates reminds one of that sense of certainty and lofty command which comes from the reading of the higher and more rational pages of Emmanuel Swedenborg.

As Prof. Allen says in his first article in the Princeton Review :

“ The only self-consistent hypothesis is that of Deity indwelling in the historical process, and conducting it to its conclusion. Thence when God was enthroned in the remotest parts of space, or was localized on the altar or in the sacred book, the protest of humanity never ceased to be heard, and with increasing force bore witness to a higher truth. To formal theology this cry of the soul for God was known as mysticism. Mysterious it undoubtedly was to those who fancied that they stood in the place of God and believed that the government of the world or of the Church devolved solely upon themselves.”

But now this cry comes not as the yearning entreaty of mysticism, but as the rational, middle current thought of the reasonable, religious and holy faith of the Church.

But it is time for me to close. I spoke in opening of this newly realized doctrine of the Incarnation and of the power which there is in this doctrine, as the church of to day has come into the freedom and the fulness of this truth; and I have sketched in the latter part of this paper the rise and progress of this faith. Nature confirms this truth of the Incarnation at every turn.

There is not a leaf, or a flower, or a growing plant, that is not a parable of the Incarnation—a picture of God’s power revealed in this world of His. There is not a process of mental argument, or a brilliant display of intellection carried on in the human mind, re-

vealing a man of genius, which is not an image of God blending Himself with His children, and speaking Divinely through their thoughts as an *Æolian* harp must sigh and murmur when the wind of Heaven breathes through it. There is not a heathen nation worshipping its stock or stone, or living creature, which does not prefigure thereby, even through its rank heathenism, this central thought of Divine power revealed or manifested here in time.

You may study out the meaning of Egyptian animal worship or of Grecian mythology with its heroes born of Olympian gods and terrene women, but even these, after all, were only the vain attempts of human nature to coin out into definite shape this darling instinct of the human heart, that divine power must in some way be incarnate upon the earth; that the Supreme Divinity, the father of all gods and men, would not leave His children alone and without conscious, definite help forever.

And this new conception of the doctrine of the Incarnation, when once it is firmly and philosophically held, must in time reverse our entire system of theology. Instead of beginning with a far-off, absent God, at the farthest point of space, and coming down by deductional step-ladder through the argument from design, and the argument from the consent of mankind, and the presumption of the human mind, and the ontological, cosmological and teleological arguments united, we come to man, and find at last in human history the Saviour for man: we must begin with the fact of personal Christ as the greatest fact of human history, and laying our hands on Him whose feet have trod our sinning earth, must work upwards by the inductive method until we reach in spirit and in truth that God who is a spirit while he is a father, and the father of all spirits; that God who seeketh the worship of that which in man is spiritual.

There has been no such interpretation of man's nature as Christ's interpretation of it. There has been no such revelation of the Father as the revelation which Christ has given us.

Christ has made man known. He has made God known. He comes from the bosom of the Father. He finds a fitting home in the bosom of man, the Father's child.

The Copernican system of astronomy enlarged man's grasp of astronomy, simply because it began with a definite centre in the sun rather than with the indefinite infinitude of the Ptolemaic method.

And Christian theology must begin with the central fact of Christ, and find that the Kingdom of God, with all its light as well as with all its righteousness, shall be added when this fact is firmly and rationally held.

Christ has said, "I am the door, by Me if any man enter in he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and shall find pasture."

It is then to enter into the kingdom of truth—into the republic of God, by Him who said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

As a reviewer of Dr. Mulford's book, "The Republic of God," has truly said:

"This religious movement is an attempt to escape from the theological limitations and reach the simpler beliefs of the historical churches. It is not an outreaching toward science as such, but it is the approach toward a broader theology at the same time that it is an attempt to realize the idea of God immanent in the world, in the way it was understood in the earlier Greek theology. It is hard to conceive how narrowing has been the scope of what is called Latin theology since Augustine, in the fourth century, formulated its distinctive positions. It has been a belief in God under severe limitations, and when Calvin, the great religious genius of the reformation, undertook to improve upon Augustine, while retaining his dogmatic spirit, the iron entered into men's souls, and a hard, legal, formal religion, in which God was deaf and distant, has been the result.

"Men want a whole God, a whole Christ, an entire humanity, and in a way which is taught neither in the Latin nor in the Puritan theology, they desire to see this result brought about. Just how it is coming no man can say; but that it is coming, that it is in the air, that it is at the moment of dawning, is just as certain as the fact that the intelligent Christian people of America are rapidly walking away from their traditional religious convictions and beginning to entertain new thoughts of God and man and human destiny. And this movement is as positive in affirmations as are the postulates of science, and the onward tread of the multitude who are in it is like the tramp of the Roman legions on the highways of that ancient empire."

This movement towards a new setting of theology upon the Christological rather than upon the theological basis, shows signs of breaking into two decisions. The left wing of thought stumbles at the supernatural in human history: breaks with the value of the inspiration of the Scriptures, makes of God a term or hook for the devout thoughts of the religious instinct to hang its worship upon, and sees in Christ the flower of humanity and adores him as the ideal of the highest development of the forces of human character.

The conception by the Holy Ghost is a tradition, the resurrection of Christ is a mythos. Miracles are not; prayer is a deliverance from self-consciousness; immortality is an instinct in man. The supernatural is ruled out of the domain of the reign of law, but the moral heritage of the code of righteousness lingers in this generation as a tradition from the sturdy stuff of our forefathers.

The right wing on the other hand recognizes the supernatural, and takes the confession of Frothingham to-day as the verdict of the well-balanced Christian consciousness; that after all his studies of the meaning of Christianity, and after a life spent in the most vehement denial of it, he is compelled to admit that there must be a supernatural power back of the Christian Church, as the secret cause of its survival.

It further admits that we begin life with a mystery and end it with a mystery, and that somewhere in human nature and in human history a place is left for God, and that this bulk of Divine essence which we call the supernatural, is only after all the pressing upon the world of the material and the finite, the unknown possibilities of the spiritual and the infinite.

Moreover, with reference to the Divinity of Christ, this school of inquirers maintains that the true power of the Saviour's life was the consciousness of His higher nature. His burden of pre-existence which came out at last in His intercessory prayer. "And now, O Father, glorify Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." Even in the scene of the Christ-child in the Temple there was this dream of pre-existence, this dim consciousness of a life beyond and before His human life, a Heavenly Father and a Heavenly Father's business.

The rudimentary germ of this dream of pre-existence is found even in our lives. You cannot make a little child believe that he came from nothing. He has always some confused legend or dream in his mind about coming from God or from some beautiful place, where he was very tenderly dealt with, before he was left as a little stranger in this world, with its sigh of mysteries about him. For myself I believe that this innate rudimentary germ of an idea about pre-existence means that the soul lives in the thought that God originally thought of it. That is the far off, original place for it—or as Wordsworth says:

"Heaven lies about us in our infancy.
Not in entire forgetfulness—
And not in utter nakedness—
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home."

And thus in our poor, stunted human nature's

dream of pre-existence we see the germ of that which in the perfect man Jesus Christ was the human consciousness of the Divine power. And it is this bulk of Divine power in Christ which, in bringing down God to man, has overcome the power of death—and has made out of the human instinct by immortality—a demonstrated gift to man.

Which of these two schools of interpretation will become the heir to the heritage of truth in the past and the representative of God's revealed truth to the future awaits the discoverer of the future.

For with the law of the ascent of truth there comes also a law of descent of heritage.

The bones of Joseph were carried up into the land of promise, as a souvenir of God's deliverance in the past. Even so the caravan of the Christian Church takes with it into every new opening of truth the sacred symbol of bygone deliverances.

But best of all is this: Christ is with His Church; God is with His people. At His signal we stand still or we move forward. But we cannot go back to that darkness and slavery which always reigns where He is stripped of His power and is not.

I can remember as a child in Philadelphia the cry of the watchmen at midnight as with swinging lanterns the hours of the night were called out by the street patrol, with the added words, "All is well." I can remember at night the bolted stores with heavy padlocks and iron shutters to guard and keep the precious wares within.

But to-day the stores and offices have no longer those iron shutters and those heavy dungeon bars. No longer a paid patrol calls out that all is well in the dark hours of night. The defense of the store laden with precious wares is in the light that is within the building. The defense of the city streets is no longer with the night watchmen; it is with the white glare

of the electric moons which like a string of burning beads are strung through the crowded thoroughfares.

In other words the method of defense is changed. It is the light within which protects, simply in the act of revealing. And thus it is with this changed basis of the defense of our faith. Parting as we do to-day from the iron decrees and the logical bolts of a former system of theology, we can sing with a new meaning, as we think of Christ the light of the world and the light of the soul, that old psalm of the songs of degrees, "Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain who build it. Except the Lord keep the city the watchman waketh but in vain."

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE NEWTON.

GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY.

A Greek-English Lexicon; compiled by Henry George Liddell, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Robert Scott, D.D., Dean of Rochester, late Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Seventh Edition, Revised and Augmented throughout, with the coöperation of Professor Drisler, of Columbia College, N. Y. New York, 1883.

GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY has made marvellous advances during the last half century. It has been prosecuted, not only in Germany and England, but also in America, with a zeal and energy deserving all praise, and the results are as gratifying as they are striking and important.

Those of us who can recollect the perplexities and hindrances which beset students of Greek, only a generation or so back, and who call to mind what a bewildering task it was to study out a lesson in Homer, or Thucydides, or Æschylus, with such helps as were then within their reach, can rightly appreciate the change which has taken place, and the vastly superior advantages which are now freely offered to all who desire to obtain an accurate knowledge of the language, and secure true, genuine enjoyment of classical literature.

It was a fearful strain upon a boy in those days, to be compelled to see what he could make out of a passage of Greek with the assistance furnished by old

Cornelius Schrevelius († 1664), a copy of whose *Lexicon Manuale Græco-Latinum et Latino-Græcum* I once possessed, and used with all diligence; for the learned Dutchman was not only brief as to words and meanings, with the vaguest possible references to Greek writers, leaving one to find the passage as best he might with only the writer's name to guide him, but, as a matter of course, he conveyed whatever scraps of learning, and whatever significations he gave to Greek words, through the medium of *Latin*! So that it happened that the poor fellow, who tried to put his Greek into intelligible English, had to perform this Sisyphean task, if he could, through the anything but clear or satisfactory Latin equivalents selected by the erudite Schrevel, in his oft reprinted book. What headaches and heart-aches ensued, and what proclivities to profane objurgations followed, can be imagined, but need not here be enlarged upon. It was no wonder that boys sought out and cultivated those nondescript quadrupeds, known as "ponies," or that the traditional notes and translations, which preceding classes obtained from professors and teachers, were highly valued by College and Grammar School boys. Happy are the youth of the present day—far happier than they know of—that they are not compelled to flounder about in bogs and quagmires of (to them) unmeaning Greek and Latin, or to waste time and energy, and run the risk of spoiling good tempers, in such fruitless and unsatisfactory toil.

It is true that Dr. Donnegan's Greek Lexicon was first published some fifty years ago, as was also the "Comprehensive Lexicon of the Greek Language," of our countryman, Dr. John Pickering. Professor Dunbar's Greek Lexicon likewise appeared in 1840 (third edition, 1853). These gave the renderings and explanations of Greek words in English, and

were useful and creditable works at the time they were issued; but, as they were comparatively large and expensive, very few boys were so fortunate as to be able to get the use of either of them. In these Lexicons the English language was used, as just stated, and that was certainly a great gain; but they could lay no claim to scientific or full treatment of Greek words; neither did they furnish the student with any material help in the way of exact references to Greek writers, or throw any light upon those points which the study of Comparative Philology, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, has shown to be of the utmost interest and importance. Hence, in the new as well as the old world, there was felt to be a necessity for an onward movement; and the hour and the men arrived in due season. The outcome of it all is here in our hands in the noble Lexicon of Drs. Liddell and Scott.

It being my design, in this article, to lay before the readers of the CHURCH REVIEW the chief features of excellence of the present Lexicon of the Greek language, I propose to do so as briefly as possible consistently with the object had in view. At the same time, I hope to present matters with sufficient clearness and force, and to render the due meed of praise, for that which they have accomplished, to the distinguished scholars named on the title page.

The history of the origin and progress of this great work is interesting and instructive. The first step of importance was made in Germany, where Francis Passow's Greek-German Lexicon (published more than sixty years ago), gave the impulse that has led to so wide and far reaching results, and constituted in fact a new era in Lexicography. It was received with favor at once, and reached its fourth edition in 1833, the year of Passow's death. The work having become known in England, the two scholars, whose

names are now household words in English as well as American Schools and Colleges, undertook the task of translating Passow into English, and of furnishing a Lexicon which should take the place of Donnegan and Dunbar, and enable the student to enter upon the investigation of the language on sound principles of philology and interpretation.

Messrs. Liddell and Scott published their first edition in 1843, stating that it was "based on the German work of Francis Passow." Three years later, the house of Harper & Brothers brought out an American edition, revised by Professor Henry Drisler, of Columbia College, and greatly improved by the addition of proper names as a constituent part of the Lexicon. In their fourth edition (1855) the Oxford editors omitted the name of Passow from their title page, not, as they properly state, from any wish to conceal their obligations to that scholar, without whose Lexicon as a base their own would never have been compiled, but because they had drawn from so many and various sources that it was hardly right or fair to place any one name on their title page. The fifth edition (1861) was also very much augmented and improved, not only by continual reference to the great Paris Thesaurus, but also to the Greek-German Lexicon of Rost and Palm, and to various other sources. Eight years later, the sixth edition appeared, this, too, having been revised throughout. The number of pages was considerably increased, owing chiefly to the fuller treatment of the forms of verbs, drawn largely from the very valuable treatise of Dr. Veitch, *Greek Verbs Irregular and Defective*.

The present solid and substantial volume is the seventh edition. Busy hands and heads have been at work during the interval since the publication of the sixth edition, and by combined efforts, on both sides of the Atlantic, a most thorough revision and a large

augmentation have been effected. The distinguished scholars who have had the work before them for forty years, and are now well advanced in age and honors, express themselves with a kind of sad satisfaction, in looking at this seventh edition, since, in all human probability, it is to be regarded "as the last that they can hope to see published." They point out what has been done to render the *Lexicon* as complete as possible, in the fuller references to classical authors, and the free use of the *Indices* to the Berlin Aristotle and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*. They make grateful and graceful acknowledgment of the help received from various quarters, and they specially name three American scholars, viz.: Professor Goodwin, of Harvard, Professor Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins, and Professor Drisler, of Columbia College. The last named eminent Hellenist, whose services are properly recognized by placing his name on the title page with the familiar ones of Liddell and Scott, has given his best attention to each and every page of the volume, and it is only fair to state that the additions and corrections, made by him and his American coadjutors, run well up into the thousands. Professor Goodwin contributed the articles on *ἀν*, *εἰ*, *ἐπεί*, *ὅτε*, and *δοτε*, in addition to numerous corrections here and there, and several valuable articles on Attic law terms, a few of which are named in the Preface. To Professor Gildersleeve are due the careful treatment of *ἐστε*, *ἴνα*, *ὅπως*, *οὐ*, *μή*, *πρίν*, and *οὐ μή*, as well as other contributions to the correcting and enlarging the work. The full lists of all sorts of corrections and additions which were sent to Deans Liddell and Scott by Professor Drisler, both his own and those furnished by others, were not, it is understood, adopted in their entirety by the English editors. This did not arise from any lack of appreciation of the value of these numerous suggestions and additions,

but simply from considerations of saving space in every way, and from the need of condensing to the utmost degree, and securing harmony and proportion of language and statement.

Following the Preface are ten pages of needful preliminary matter, viz.: A Summary of the Principal Eras in Greek Literature: nine of these are named, commencing with the Early Epic Period (from about B. C. 1000-800), and reaching down to the Roman Age, in the early centuries of the Christian era. Also, a List of Authors (with the editions referred to), arranged alphabetically, and in number some six hundred. The dates at which these authors flourished are given, and one can form some idea of the wide range taken by noting that authors are referred to from Homer (B. C. 1000) to several Byzantine writers (A. D. 1300 to 1400). There is further added a List of Abbreviations, etc., employed in the work, in order to economize space and facilitate ready reference. The Lexicon proper covers 1774 pages. These are somewhat larger than in the sixth edition, and consequently contain considerably more matter. Every possible condensation and saving of space have been made in the way of notation, references to authorities, etc. The quantities of all doubtful vowels are marked, and the accentuation of words is singularly exact. Still closer attention has been given to present a history of each word in the language and its meanings, in the only sound way of ascertaining them, viz., by genealogical succession. In connection with this the etymology has been almost entirely recast. In the first edition the compilers had adopted as their text book the work of A. F. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*; but, as during forty years Comparative Philology had made giant strides in advance, these careful scholars availed themselves of the *Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie* of

Georg Curtius, and used the results of the latest inquiries into the relations of the Greek language to Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic, Old High German, Lithuanian, and other cognate languages. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of articles have been retouched; obsolete matter has been eliminated; new and fresh knowledge and information supplied; increased study and research made into Greek writers of various periods; further illustrative examples given; in short, everything has been done which, in the judgment of the editors, was necessary to make the *Lexicon* complete and thorough in all its parts. Thoroughness and completeness are, in general, undoubtedly its marked characteristics, and it would not be too much to claim for it the name, as it fulfills in great measure the functions, of a *THESAURUS* of the Greek Language and Literature.

A point or two of criticism, however, will not be, I hope, out of place. The omission of Proper Names (except in a few instances) was perhaps inevitable in a volume already so large and extensive as this; but it is to be regretted nevertheless. Professor Drisler was right in his putting them into his edition of Liddell and Scott, and it would seem plain that they ought to be retained in every *Lexicon* claiming to be full and exact, seeing that they are as much a part of the language as any words in it, and need to have their forms and significations given as well as those of any others. For my own part, I cannot but wish that all the Proper Names had been inserted, even if a hundred or hundred and fifty more pages were added, or if some of the more elaborate articles had been a little condensed in order to make room. A special *Lexicon* will probably be called for; but, however desirable such a *Lexicon* may be in some respects, any addition to the expense and trouble resulting thereby to students is entirely to be deprecated.

The value of this great work to clergymen and theological students deserves to be noted. The learned editors, being clergymen themselves, have taken occasion to include as much help as they felt to be in their power, towards an accurate knowledge of the Greek of the Septuagint, the New Testament, and the early Fathers, even including later Byzantine writers. Under *θεός* are some interesting and valuable etymological remarks. So, too, *Κυριακός* is explained in its connection with "the Lord's Day," and "the Lord's House"—i. e., the *Church*. Reference may be had with profit by the student to *Χριστός*, *Ἰησοῦς*, *Σαδδουκαῖοι* (why not *Φαρισαῖοι*, also?), *πίστις*, *δικαίωσις*, *ἐπισκοπος*, *ἀνάστασις*, *σάββατον*, etc. Though it can hardly be claimed with truth that the present is a *Lexicon* to the New Testament, in any proper sense of the word, or that students of the Bible can dispense with a special *Lexicon* for the Sacred Volume, yet it has a value quite beyond its capability of accurate training in ancient Greek, inasmuch as it will prove of great service to those who wish to note and investigate the relationship of classical and Alexandrian Greek.

In conclusion I am prepared to say, from some knowledge and acquaintance with the subject, that this great *Lexicon* approximates very near indeed to freedom from mistakes, and is certainly more accurate in its typography than any book or volume of its kind in existence.

This is the highest praise that can be bestowed upon the work, and the Messrs. Harper & Brothers may well feel an honest pride and satisfaction in having their imprint on its title page, as well as having contributed so largely to the comfort and progress of students of the noblest language of all antiquity.

JESSE AMES SPENCER.

RECENT LITERATURE.

A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. Vol. 1. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This work has not inaptly been described as the newspaper history of the United States. The author's purpose is to describe the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times; to note the changes of manners and morals; to tell how, under the benign influence of liberty and peace, there sprang up in the course of a single century a prosperity unparalleled in the annals of human affairs; how, from a state of great poverty and feebleness, our country grew rapidly to one of opulence and power; how her agriculture and manufactures flourished together; how, by a wise system of free education and a free press, knowledge was disseminated, and the arts and sciences advanced. The same broad plan has been applied to English history by the late J. R. Green. It goes without question that such a mingling of social with political history is necessary to an understanding of the circumstances under which our nation was formed and grew up. Mr. McMaster is a historian after the style of Froude and Carlyle, who deal with facts, and seek to reproduce the part of the imaginative. He also has something of Macaulay's brilliant narrative style. But he is not a deep student of affairs. He is innocent of

any philosophy of history. Bancroft interrupts his story to introduce a discussion of principles, but the present historian of the American people never disturbs the flow of his story with such abstract matters, and has really only aimed to present as accurately as possible the life of the times without any close inquiry into the ground work of current opinion. Perhaps this was well. A popular history that had breadth and sweep of narrative, that photographed the life of the day after the manner of the newspapers, has been greatly needed. Bancroft's history is bare in this respect, and Hildreth's is barer still, and Bryant's hardly comes up to the dignity of sober history, and none of these works can be enjoyed by the people at large. It is not so with Mr. McMaster's history. He has studied the newspapers as Macaulay studied the pamphlet literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and has the power to make a readable digest of the political, social, industrial, and religious life of the epoch which he has taken in hand. If the first volume of his history may be taken as a fair specimen of the way in which the later volumes will be prepared, it may be said that at last a competent historian of the American people has made his appearance. In point of style, he has the art of well-sustained narration. Not that the style is exceptionally good; for that is not the case. Mr. Green writes better; so does Dr. Freeman; so does John Fiske, whose history of the same period to which Mr. McMaster has addressed himself, is now nearly completed; but there is such simplicity, such natural ease, such unstudied grace in Mr. McMaster's style of writing, that the readers of history are entertained unawares. He is successful also in another direction. He is one of the first to make the accounts of the formation of our government, and the early political discussions in and out of Congress interest-

ing. He fills out to the imagination the social and actual environment of those discussions. There is the integration of the nation's life in the story. You reach the heart of the debates, and the several questions are so presented from the journals of the day that you can go behind the scenes like a contemporary, and feel the spirit of the time. Thus Mr. McMaster, without much insight into political philosophy, has written a work which the students of this philosophy cannot ignore. He does not impress you as a great writer, but his story is interesting, and, so far as he goes, there are merits in his history which have not been so veritable and clear in any other writer. The sketch of the life and spirit of the American people in 1784, with which the volume begins, is masterly in its kind, but the sustained excellence of his style, unrelieved by a single philosophical reflection or personal opinion, becomes monotonous before the book is ended, and one is as eager for variety in these fascinating pages as in the brilliant pages of Macaulay, or among the bewildering paradoxes of Froude.

The Relation of Christianity to Civil Society.
By Samuel Smith Harris, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Michigan. New York: T. Whittaker.

Bishop Harris is at work in this volume in a comparatively new field, and has made a book which, if not original in its argument, is original in the application of the argument to American society. He lays down the fundamental postulate that our Lord did not intend to interfere with the ordering of civil society in establishing His Kingdom in the world, but was careful to insist that the spiritual should be separate from but not antagonistic to the spiritual kingdom. He traces this principle in theory, and the way in which it has been lost sight of in practice,

through a good part of the volume with a masterly hand, and the point of his argument is revealed when he shows that "the relation of Christianity to civil society in this land is not the relation which Puritanism would have chosen; nor is it that which Quakerism would have preferred; nor yet is it that which is exemplified in the English Establishment. The actual outcome has been perfect religious liberty." This "arises out of the very conception of civil society as a social compact between men acting in obedience to the moral and social instincts of their nature and deriving all civil authority from the consent of the governed." Bishop Harris believes that the relation of Christianity to civil society in this country is the ideal relation that was present to the thought of Jesus; that all Christian history has been leading up to the possibility of the establishment of this relation; that it is being more and more realized that Christians awake to the fact that the State is secular and human while the Church is spiritual and Divine, and that there are tendencies abroad, some reactionary and others radical in character, which gravely threaten to suspend it, if not to destroy it altogether. His words are none too strong in regard to the danger that threatens us as a nation from the various attempts to interfere with religious liberty, and he is also right in saying that Churchmen occupy the vantage ground in being free to hold true views of the relations between Christianity and civil society. The two lectures on education and charity are of great importance. The Bishop takes the American position on the school question, and is to be thanked for maintaining all through these lectures the positions which are constructively in the interests of a large and roomy and positive Christianity. He holds to the only true position to be maintained in the administration of charity, that it shall go hand in hand

with personal sympathy and love. The higher relations of Christianity to the State and to the individual citizen are admirably brought out in the closing lecture. The strength and the charm of this important volume consists in the clearness with which its positions are wrought out and stated. Bishop Harris is both a political student and a Christian thinker. There is not much left unsaid on the development of American Christianity among a free people when these lectures have been read through. The subject is very ably handled, and there is none of that spiritual pride in its pages which sometimes disfigures the books written by Churchmen and limits their influence upon the thinking world. In these lectures Bishop Harris has substantially increased a growing reputation.

George Eliot. Emily Brontë. By Mathilde Blind and A. Mary Robinson. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

These two volumes inaugurate the *Famous Women* series and are as brilliant and fascinating biographies as have recently been written. George Eliot was remarkable for the breadth and strength of her intellectual life. The translator of Strauss and Feuerbach and the writer of articles in the *Westminster Review*, she was a thoroughly learned woman and had passed through a large amount of discipline before she began the work with which her name is now inseparably associated. It was George Henry Lewes who first incited her to write the *Scenes of Clerical Life*, and to his oversight and management the world is largely indebted for the wonderful creations of her genius. Miss Blind brings this out distinctly in her brief biographical sketch of George Eliot, and in the interpretation of her inner life through her various stories. She has written an excellent library biography, and grasped the essential points in her career.

The book is particularly interesting for the way in which her early life is traced and her childhood unfolded. Authors usually put themselves so thoroughly into their writings that there is very little left for the biographer, and it looks as if this might be the case with George Eliot. The full story is shortly to be told by Mr. Cross, but it may be doubted whether there is much to be told beyond what Miss Blind has written. Her childhood, her change of religious opinions, her literary career, her social relations and the analysis and estimate of her novels could in any case hardly be set forth in a more satisfactory manner than in the present volume.

Miss Robinson's account of Emily Brontë, whose life has never been traced apart from her sister's, is vividly and powerfully written. The two sisters were alike in their tendency to literary expression, but widely unlike in the direction which that expression took. Charlotte was clear-sighted and compassionate while Emily walked by herself in the land of shadows. Each had a strong imagination, but Emily's was the narrower and more intense. She took up the problem of the conquering force of sin and the supremacy of injustice and brooded over it night and day until in the midst of her troubled thoughts she wrote *Wuthering Heights*. That work was the expression of the storm that overwhelmed her life, and when it was over she died. This is nearly the whole of her outward performance, with the exception of a few poems, but it gives only a poor idea of the intensity of the passions which swept over her soul in her trials with her reprobate brother, and the discontents of her isolated and one-sided existence. The excellence of Miss Robinson's book is that she has entered with imagination and sympathy into this lonely and tortured life, and pictured it with such glow of feeling that it reads as if she were telling her own story. It

is a wonderfully thrilling and tragic story, and one that deserved to be told.

Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle. Prepared for publication by Thomas Carlyle. Edited by James Anthony Froude. In two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It was inevitable when once the publication of Thomas Carlyle's life and letters was determined on that all things pertaining to his home and his married life should be fully known. It was evidently his wish that this should be so. His work in editing these letters, the annotations upon them, the glimpses into his own life which they contain, are a practical confession that he expected that his career would be fully illustrated and that his strong and weak points would be known down to their minutest details. It argues some heroism thus to open one's personal and family life to the world; but where the man or woman is of that stuff out of which genius comes, it is not possible to know them too well, and the larger our intimacy with them is, the greater is their continuous influence in the world. In this view, the letters of Mrs. Carlyle are of special importance, and will be read for a purpose. She married a man of genius, not knowing what it costs to serve in that capacity; but becoming fully aware of it before she was through with life, and experiencing both the joys and sorrows of that relation. Her letters are sufficiently worthy of publication on merits of their own, but they are most valuable to us as exhibiting the home in which Carlyle lived and the way in which people of genius discharge their daily duties. So much had been previously said of Mrs. Carlyle's life in the first forty years of his own biography that Mr. Froude refers his readers to that work for the details of her home and girlhood, and begins with her

letter to Mr. Carlyle's mother, shortly after they had gone from Craigenputtock to London and had established themselves in Chelsea. The letters were written to her mother, to Carlyle's mother, to her female friends, to John Sterling, but principally to her husband during the brief intervals when they were separated from each other. She had much descriptive power, admirable wit, fresh, quick insight, and could express her thoughts in vivid, thrilling terms. There are pictures of Carlyle in these hastily written letters, of his rage while in the toils of indigestion, of the way in which he acted under the spell of his whims, of her own trials, of her isolation when she felt that he had deserted her, which, though almost too sacred for the public eye, throw a wonderful amount of light upon the Carlyle home; and taken altogether, they show that Mrs. Carlyle, had she attempted to live by her wits, could have engaged with success in the work of an author. Many critics to the contrary, the publication of these volumes is to be commended. Half a century hence they will be as valuable for a sketch of literary and social life in London during the nineteenth as Horace Walpole's are for the same purpose during the eighteenth century. To-day they illustrate Carlyle's literary career; to-morrow they will be part of the veritable history of the world at an important period. They cover the time between the years 1834 and 1866, the last letter being written the day before her sudden death, April 22, 1866. They are a wonderful revelation of the felicities or infelicities of the married state among literary people, and with Thomas Carlyle's annotations are perhaps the freshest bits of swift and passionate writing that have been vouchsafed to us in these latter days. The portrait of Mrs. Carlyle in the first volume may be accurate enough, but it quite altogether fails to indicate where her strength lay.

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CLERICAL TRAINING, BEFORE AND AFTER ORDINATION.

A GREAT deal is said and written now-a-days concerning the "Decline of Clerical Authority;" so that in many minds there may be a reasonable suspicion that there is truth in the allegation that it has declined. Of course every one admits exceptions to the alleged general fact. Here and there a man stands forth head and shoulders above his fellows in the ranks of the clergy; a man who has abundance of "auctoritas" over his fellow-men, which they gladly recognize and follow, not blindly, but intelligently. Such a cleric, both in and out of the pulpit, never lacks hearers who look up to him as a trustworthy guide, as an "authority" it shames neither their intelligence nor their manhood to bow to. But the allegation referred to deals with the general fact, and not the exceptions.

It may be worth while to consider some of the proofs of the allegation—some of the causes of the alleged fact; some of the remedies for it; and to do this in a suggestive rather than an exhaustive way,



admitting that every question may have two sides which ought to be considered in the interests of truth. It should be understood that this investigation of the subject has to do with this country, and not other countries; with Protestant Churches, and not the Roman Catholic Church, the status of whose clergy rests upon an unquestioning and blind obedience, in which to doubt the word or question the authority of a priest is of the nature of a sin which the members of that Communion would be slow to commit. Whether this ground of authority is better than another ground, is largely a matter of opinion. The fact can scarcely be disputed.

These conditions of the investigation being understood, let us consider statements often made in this connection, not necessarily admitting their truth, but putting them as they are actually put. One proof of the decline of clerical authority (*"auctoritas,"* influence,) is in the small congregations "which gather in the churches. It cannot be denied that the attendance on even the Lord's day is not as general as it used to be. There is too often a beggarly account of empty benches." President Robinson, of Brown University, in his admirable *"Lectures on Preaching,"* says: "It is computed that nearly two-thirds of the Protestant population of this country now habitually absent themselves from the Sunday church services. There is about the same proportion of absentees in England." (p. 79.) To be sure, in the olden time there was a certain amount of compulsion in the matter of attendance upon public worship, at any rate on Sunday morning. There was also a certain amount of respectability and social standing involved in going to church. These inducements are now to a great extent done away. People need not go if they do not wish to, and staying away brings no social disrepute worth caring for.

One other feature of attendance at church is noteworthy—namely, the preponderance of women over men in point of numbers. There is a tacit assump-

tion that, while church is a good place for women to go to, it somehow does not harmonize with virile tastes or obligations. It may be said that one reason of this is because men work harder and more exhaustingly during the week, and have greater need of "Sabbath" rest to recuperate their worn-out bodies and minds. But it is to be observed that this reason does not seem to hold good in congregations where there are ministers whose preaching men do not find wearisome or vapid. The question is not whether the proper reason for going to church be not rather public *worship* than to hear preaching. The fact remains that where there is really good preaching, congregations are apt to be large, and to have as many men as women in them to hear the preaching—and, perhaps, to profit by it. This fact would seem to show that where men stay away, it is generally in consequence of the absence of "clerical authority" to draw them; and the "clerical authority" which draws men is somewhat different from that which draws women.

Another phenomenon, which exhibits something wrong about the "authority" of the clergy, is the disposition among polite men of the world to accord a semi-feminine rôle to a clergyman—possibly on account of the long skirts of the regulation coat; to show a certain well-bred deference to his uniform and his office, rather than to himself as a man; while, all the time, his opinions and his advice would be the last thing sought or cared for. And this surface deference is often strangely at variance with other treatment by vestries, or trustees, or sessions, which clergymen experience. The contrast between the cleric's diminished influence at the present day, outside of merely clerical functions and among men of the world, and what it used to be, is certainly marked, exceptions to the rule, of course, being admitted.

Another phenomenon is, with admitted exceptions, the decline of applicants for the ministry, both as re-

gards the quantity and the quality of them. Formerly the strongest men, intellectually, sought admission to its ranks, and sought it in numbers. Now, while some strong men do seek and gain admission, too large a proportion of weak men seek and gain it; men weak naturally, and weakly furnished with that intellectual training which should fit them to cope with the difficulties of the day. That they are allowed to gain the admission which they seek, is often excused by a plea "of the lack of men and the needs of the field." But is it well to put poor workmen, however well intentioned, into a "field" which claims the best skilled labor? A man's personal piety may be unquestioned; but that does not make him, either naturally or, still less, with an imperfect training, "apt to teach." Where a man has simply to perform religious ceremonies mechanically, the "clean hands and pure heart" are all-sufficient for him; but where he has other work besides what may not irreverently be called mechanical functions; where he must "be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers, for there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers;" when, in short, his main work is, like Paul's, to "*preach the Gospel*;" then, surely, he needs, especially in these days, something besides the "clean hands and pure heart." The case was wisely and tersely put to one whose religious character was unquestionable, but whose aptness to teach was more than questionable, and who was seeking to enter the ministry. In answer to the suggestion that his Christian character would find a better field of usefulness elsewhere than in the ministry, the applicant exclaimed: "But, Doctor, does it not say 'Go, preach the Gospel to every critter?'" "Yes, my friend, it does; but it *doesn't* say to every critter 'Go, preach the Gospel.'"

Then, as to quantity. The falling off in the numbers as well as the quality of those who are candidates for the ministry, is evidenced by the existence of "societies for the increase of the ministry" of va-

rious kinds, whose aim is to offer inducements to postulants, and to give them help in gaining such an education as to enable them to pass the necessary examinations before ordination. Of the character of this education more will be said farther on. The point now is, that these agencies are set on foot to meet and remedy an avowed lack of applicants for the ministry.

Let us now look for some causes of the above facts; and, first, for the fact of the "decline of clerical authority." The last-mentioned fact—the poor quality (not as regards personal worth and character, but as regards all that may be summed up in the expression "aptness to teach") of too large a portion of ministers in various churches, witnessed to by the results of their labors as compared with the labors of others—this fact may account in large measure for such decline.

Then, of course, another cause is "the devil," generally at the bottom of all that is not what it should be. But "the devil" is too often an abstract generalization of evil. The question here is, by what particular strings does he move things so as to produce the combinations he is supposed to desire? If we can get at the strings and cut them, we spoil both the movements of his puppets and his game at the same time.

It is claimed—and who shall say that the claim is unfounded?—that there is a failure on the part of ministers to keep pace with the advance of the age in learning and in being practical; in always seeing the right head to hit and how to hit it. Indeed, ministers are generally credited with not only lagging behind the advanced line of knowledge, but also with being opposed to it. Each new scientific advance has had to be fought for in the teeth of the directors of religious thought, because they somehow felt that religion was in danger, and because they could not at once rise to the conviction that God would not write one law in His works and another contradictory one

in His word. This opposition is no new thing. From the days of Giordano Bruno, burned in 1600 for teaching the Copernican system of astronomy, it has been manifested. Its latest suicidal phase is the attempt in England to forcibly suppress the works of Messrs. Huxley, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and other such lights of science. But the difference between the old times and the present is, that then the clergy could enforce their authority by the dungeon or the stake; now, men can bow with a pitying sneer at them and pass by unharmed. Formerly it was bad for the scientists; now it is bad for the clergy and their influence. Men regard them as advocates for their *systems* rather than for the *truth*.

Then again, the conventional character and methods of many ministers is not especially favorable to a strong influence. Plain, practical people fail to see why, if a man really has a message from God to men, he should not give it in a thoroughly natural and earnest way, instead of in a thoroughly conventional and earnest way, falling back upon set phrases—many of them antiquated—which have the flavor of professional monotony and the twang of nasal pietism. It is hard not to contrast, intuitively, such tones and ways with the perfectly natural and manly tones and ways of such preachers of righteousness as Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, whose “clerical authority” was unquestionable; nay, reverently be it said, with the perfectly natural and manly tones and ways of Him who, “in the days of His flesh,” was one whom “the common people heard gladly, for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.” Surely, so far as the above-mentioned facts exist, they may be cited as sufficient causes for the “decline of clerical authority.” Do they not exist in too large measure?

But there are causes also for the existence of the second phenomenon noted above, viz., the decline of applicants for the ministry, both as regards the *quantity* as well as the *quality* of them.

When a man takes his life in his hand, and, in obedience to what he believes his vocation, goes to preach to the heathen, he does so with a full knowledge of, and a determination to meet, the worst that may be in store for him. But when, as most ministers in Christian countries do, he expects to be settled as a pastor over a congregation of Christian people—of course with a large sprinkling of unbelievers among them—he *ought* not to anticipate what he too often gets.

He is nominally the teacher and spiritual guide; too often he is really the one person in the parish whom many in it feel called upon to teach and to try to compel to walk in their ways.

He is theoretically supposed to be called to his pastorate for the purpose of teaching the truth, of reproving, rebuking, exhorting, those who need such ministrations. But too often in reality he is expected to please, to truckle to the wealthy or influential parishioner, to shape his teaching in accordance with the superior theological attainments of the wise people of his flock, to avoid disagreeable practical matters; and if he does not so trim his sails, he is opposed, criticized, thwarted; if possible, starved or crowded out.

He is expected to have the vigor of Paul and the eloquence of Apollos, and in many cases to exercise those gifts for a totally inadequate compensation; those who "sit under him" being much fonder of remembering that Paul gloried in working with his own hands in order that, under peculiar circumstances not existing in the present case, he "might not be chargeable to any of them," than they are of remembering the assertion of the Lord that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." Furthermore, in the present condition of things ecclesiastical, let a minister whose salary is insufficient set himself to work at any reputable "worldly business" (except, perhaps, teaching) to keep himself out of debt and provide comfort for his family—and in how many in-

stances would not his congregation be up in arms claiming that his whole time was due to them, and besides, that it was not "becoming" for "a minister of the Gospel to engage in worldly business?"

Even if pecuniary matters are satisfactory, there is no class of men so exposed to silly and carping criticisms of all kinds, against which, from the very nature of the case, ministers are powerless, and which, to a man of ordinary sensibility who is conscious that he is doing his best in the faithful performance of his duty, are galling in the extreme. He knows that at any time, without fault of his own, any malicious or stupid gossip and scandal-monger can start a feeling against him which will work around in the dark, growing as it works, until his usefulness is destroyed, and, wearied with the hopeless effort to parry blows dealt him in the dark, he goes away to some other post of labor, perhaps to repeat the experience.

In view of all such things, well known to be facts of too frequent existence, it is scarcely to be wondered at that men of parts and self respect are disposed to seek other professions, feeling they can do as much good in the world, and with far more satisfaction, being laymen, as they could if clergymen. And one remedy for the diminution of the number of candidates for the ministry to be exercised in the settled pastorate among nominal Christians would seem to be the removal by the said nominal Christians of the causes which repel men of parts and of self respect from the office of the ministry under circumstances in which they are too often forced to exercise it.

But suppose, with all these drawbacks, etc., clearly known, a man determines to seek Holy Orders, what should his training be? It is a very important question in connection with the present "decline of clerical authority."

There is no questioning the fact that many congregations are not intellectual to a degree which would

give trouble to an ordinarily educated and a pious man, who, with a good personal character and honest devotion to his work, would find himself perfectly competent to impress his flock with all needed and proper respect for and deference to his "clerical authority." If he had a reasonable amount of common sense and tact, this respect and deference would be largely increased.

But there is also no questioning the fact that very many congregations, and people outside of congregations, even with very moderate educations, do a great deal of hard-headed thinking in these days; which hard-headed thinking is stimulated by the current literature of the day which delights to object to Christianity both through the press and from the rostrum. The public mind is being leavened with such objections, some of them simply scurrilous, some of them learned, acute, and strongly argumentative, coming from people who possess the "art of putting things" to a remarkable degree. While the clergyman is doing his regular preaching, reiterating established dogmas or inculcating obedience to the word of God, there is a great deal of thinking and doing going on both inside and outside the congregation which is based upon grave doubts concerning the word of God itself and the obligation to be bound by it. Sometimes the clergyman is aware of this; sometimes he is not; and somehow or other, owing to an idea of the professional peculiarities of many clergymen, even the well-disposed hesitate to talk freely with him for fear of "shocking" him by expressions of doubt and difficulty. When a Christian Bishop takes the ground that it is only the devil at the bottom of all doubt and difficulty, and that therefore doubt and difficulty are *ipso facto* wrong and to be frowned down, it is not hard to account for much that is amiss in the relationships between clergy and laity—and especially an *unbelieving* laity.

The task set the clergyman of the present day is not simply to preach orthodox sermons and lectures,

and to visit the sick and afflicted who value his ministrations. It is partly this; but it is, also, to "*convince* the gainsayers," not to rail at them or to play constable with them. President Robinson has some words worthy of attention with reference to the range of subjects which present fields in which such convincing may be necessary. He says (p. 115) "Natural science is only one of the many fields of knowledge over which men are now roaming, and of which the religious teacher is not expected to be wholly ignorant. History, philosophy, and literature, all open wide their gates and whosoever will may enter. They offer richest materials illustrative of man's need, as well as of the power and glory, of the religion of Jesus. From them have been abstracted weapons with which the enemies of Christianity have sought to destroy it; and from them must the teacher of religion procure the only weapons with which the enemies can be repelled. Nor can he afford to omit this part of his equipment. A suspicion of his ignorance in matters on which he may, and ought to be, informed, will rob him of one element of his power. And yet here, as in dealing with those who would turn natural science against Christianity, the business of the preacher of righteousness is not so much to beat back the enemies of the Cross, as it is to instruct and encourage the inquisitive and impartial."

Here we are getting at the root of the difficulty, namely: defect in clerical training before ordination, —begging pardon of theological seminaries and their professors for the assertion.

The defect consists, *not* in the absence of careful training in the learned languages, or the works of "the Fathers," or the systems of doctrine which each seminary may hold to be true, or the facts (?) of church history, &c., &c. The gist of the defect lies in teaching too much with regard to some particulars of the *past* with too little regard to some particulars of the *present*. The training goes too much in well-

worn ruts, while the exigencies of the present demand a newer and wider roadway. Familiarity with the past is a good thing; familiarity and ability to deal with the present is an essential thing which should always be added. The present, whether we like it to be so or not, bows not so much to the authority of the reiteration of dogma as it does to a demonstration of the truth. "Aptness to teach" does not now consist in saying authoritatively, "You *must* not doubt," but rather in saying convincingly "I will give you good reasons why you *need* not doubt;" and in giving them. All this, of course, in connection with faithful performance of important but also routine functions.

When a child is to be taught anything at school, every one with experience in teaching knows there are at least two things to be considered by the instructor, if he is to *teach* and not simply "hear lessons." One is the inherent difficulty of the subject; the other is, the difficulty as it appears to the child. No one can teach thoroughly who does not first understand the subject himself, and then know exactly what the child does not understand. He must let himself down to the level of the child's ignorance before he can elevate the child to the level of the teacher's knowledge. Now, this holds good for all teaching. And hence it follows that a clergyman should be able to put himself in the position, first, of understanding the subject, and, secondly, of sympathy with—i. e., a full appreciation of—honest doubts and unbeliefs. This, as it seems to us, was what that great teacher, Paul the Apostle, meant when he wrote:

For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.

And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.

It is a magnificent principle, and underlies all true teaching. At the present time there is as much doubt and unbelief born of knowledge as there is born of ignorance, and it is harder to deal with in thoroughness. To do so successfully the clergy need to be at least conversant with the learning of the day; nay more, need to be versed in it. If they antagonize it with ignorance, it will antagonize them and despise them. If they master it and use it, they may not always prove their point, but they will certainly have a respectful hearing from a large, learned and influential class of people who do not care to listen to them otherwise. Of course, it may well be, and perhaps always will be, as it was on Mars' Hill upon a memorable occasion, when a Christian teacher met the philosophers and wits of Athens on their own ground and argued with them out of their own textbooks,—some will "scoff," but others will say, "We will hear thee again of this matter."

How many of us clergy have had, before we were ordained, such a training as would fit us to deal *powerfully* with "all sorts and conditions of men?"—the learned skeptic as well as the ignorant boor, the constitutional objector as well as the devoutly trustful? There may have been plenty of antiquity in a certain line, but how about the furnishing with practical ability to cope with the present, *its* doubts, its opposition, its learning, its needs?

What is the too usual, but happily not universal, course pursued with and by a young man who selects the ministry as his profession? He is more frequently than not what is known as "a good young man," who knows comparatively little of the world, the flesh, and the devil. His boyhood has been carefully guarded from evil influences. He has often breathed the atmosphere of a Christian home. These blessings are of inestimable value for his personal character. He has grown up believing as his parents, or others

in whom he has confidence, have believed; and if doubts have presented themselves to his mind, he has probably been taught that doubt is sin and he should summarily dismiss them. He may go to college or he may not. If he does, he too often gets a mere smattering of classics and mathematics. *Science* is generally not considered a part of a pre-ministerial course. Those who devote themselves to as much of it as meets them in a college course ordinarily have other definite pursuits in view. If he does not take a college course, he has to "make up," generally too hurriedly, and therefore superficially, what will enable him to pass an entrance-examination at some theological seminary. There he goes through his "theological course," acquiring among other things a certain manner and a way of looking at things generally, which is supposed to be "clerical." He may hear something of objections to this, that, or the other Christian dogma which he is taught to be the correct dogma, and he is furnished with arguments against other Christians' dogmas, and in favor of his own. He hears scepticism and infidelity treated with disrespect, and he is liberally furnished with the arguments used by the early Fathers against the infidels of their day, but not so liberally with weapons to fight the infidelity or the indifference of the present. In an atmosphere of "the faith," he finds his own "faith" strengthened; and perhaps learns to feel a wonder how any one can be an unbeliever. He is ready to dispute concerning free will, grace of congruity, imputation, predestination, reprobation, sacramental efficacy; he knows the different "heresies" by heart, and sets a high value upon "orthodoxy."

Most of this is all well enough. The all too short term of his seminary course draws to its close, and he takes upon himself the solemn vows of the ministry. In all probability he has had some experimental training in "mission work" in the neighborhood of his seminary, among a class of people who need personal sympathy and perhaps pecuniary aid, and

are ready enough to attend his lay-ministrations, and he acquires an enthusiasm for his work. He sometimes, upon his ordination, takes charge of a parish ; sometimes he becomes an assistant, and in that capacity becomes an object of interest to the ladies of the flock, and with their assistance, does a good work in the Sunday-school and among the poor of the parish. Finally he graduates from his assistantship and receives a "call" to a pastorate.

During his course of preparation his time has been fully occupied with his text-books and other seminary work, and his course of reading has been somewhat restricted. His intellectual training has been chiefly in one line of thought. When he gets out into the world in active work, he is necessarily brought more into contact with all sorts of people. With the women he is apt to find more faith than questioning, although there are exceptions, of course. With the men, especially the unbelieving ones, he finds either that they are silent with regard to their doubts and objections, and therefore he loses an opportunity of influence most desirable ; or, if they speak, he is not unlikely to find some matters he has been led to consider settled, subject to grave doubt. It has never struck him in this way before. It sets him to thinking. There is more in the doubt than he supposed. Of course, the doubt, the objection, the denial, *must* be all bosh ; but it has an ugly way of coming up all the time. He finds there is a book or two on the subject, published, perhaps, since he left the seminary, and he reads them. The doubt assumes larger proportions. The dogma he supposed unassailable turns out to be vulnerable. The interpretation he regarded as settled is uncertain after all. The authorship of certain books of the Scriptures is differently assigned from his previous understanding of it. The train of argument he had considered conclusive is upset by an unpleasant fact. What he has been taught to regard as of the essence of the faith, he finds to be a matter of human addition—a parasite clinging to it.

He becomes very uncomfortable. He does not feel sure of his ground, and when he meets men who disbelieve what he has been taught to believe, he is not overstrong in setting them right. They are quick to see it, and his influence, with *them* at least, wanes. Or, he may, instead of argument, assume "clerical authority," and condemn error *ex cathedra*. Then his influence wanes still more. Finally, the doubt enters into his own mind and eats into his very soul. Three courses are now open to him. He may try to smother the doubt without subduing it, and cry "peace, peace," when there is no peace. It is there, and is an incubus. Or, he may not smother it to any degree, and may go on pretending to believe one thing when he really believes another, or at best does *not* believe heartily what he seems to. Or, he may—let us hope that he does—meet his doubt like a man, and in fair hand to hand fight overcome it, like him who

Fought his doubts and gathered strength ;
 He would not make his judgment blind :
 He faced the spectres of the mind
 And laid them ; thus he came at length
 To find a stronger faith his own.

Then, indeed, he is strong, Then can he bring the strength of sympathy and conviction to others who are troubled as he was.

But ought not all this to have been attended to in his pre-ordination training, by those who professed to furnish him with the weapons for his warfare? No theological training ought to be considered complete, so far as a student's *intellectual* training goes, which does not confront him in his seminary course with all that modern science and modern infidelity can bring against the truths he is supposed to hold and to teach. One very practical method of doing this would be for each seminary to have its "*advocatus diaboli*," as it were, against whom the orthodox professors should arm the student in a *real* combat of knowledge and argument, and not of denial or railing merely. There

might be fewer ordained after such a course ; but those who were would be men of tenfold power. We should not, in all probability, hear so much about "the decline of clerical authority." But such an innovation would probably be considered too drastic a remedy for the defects complained of.

Either of three other plans would certainly produce better results than are attained at present ; and each is, or ought to be, practicable.

1. A lengthening of the seminary course for more thorough training.

2. The engaging in some business till the candidate for orders is at least thirty years old. This would enable him to acquire a better practical knowledge, before ordination, of the world and its ways ; in acquiring which he could also pursue a distinct line of theological reading. It would also, in many cases, enable him to acquire at least a moderate pecuniary competence which, as things go, would vastly add to his personal independence and manhood, after taking holy orders—valuable factors in "clerical authority." It would also give him broader views of life and life's problems, that would tell in increased power of ministrations ; and it would enable him more fully to know his own mind before he took orders.

3. If ordained at a younger age, the remaining as an assistant—(the theory of the diaconate in the Episcopal Church)—till he should be thirty instead of twenty-four years old, except in case of marked individual fitness earlier to assume the responsibilities of a teacher and guide to others, many of them older than himself. This probation would ripen his experience and be of itself a valuable education.

It is not without significance in this connection that we read that "Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age" before he appeared as a public teacher.

Either of these three courses would furnish a ministry against whose "authority" much less could be said than at present.

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

POEMS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Carols, Hymns and Songs. By John Henry Hopkins. New York: 1883.

Poems by the Wayside. By John Henry Hopkins. New York: 1883.

DR. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, known to the Church and the world for many good long years, as his latest title-page reminds us, and always well known by manifold strong work of brain and pen, is before us again with a book, and is heartily welcome. Not many months ago, as we were glad to see, at the time, he issued a third edition, enlarged, with musical notation throughout, of his "Carols, Hymns and Songs." Now we have of him a new and very handsome volume, "Poems by the Wayside."

Both books are of great interest and value.

He that shall write the favorite carols, or but a few favorite carols, of the Church, for her great times, will surely be doing something of the same sort as he that, "having leave to write the ballads of a nation," can look over with supreme unconcern at those who "make its laws." Dr. Hopkins has had this satisfaction of writing and giving music of their own to carols that in many lands awaken Christmas long before the dawn, and lead the warblings of the birds at Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. The very titles of them are most taking, as: "Three Kings of Orient," "Evergreen, Holly and Laurel," "Let Every Heart Now Dance With Joy," "Praise of Woman," and plenty of others. In their wording we easily find a rugged strength that grapples and holds the memory, while the strength of the music clings, as closely as shadow, to the words. We smile (let us not say at,

but) with the dialogue of "The Old Roman Soldier," and the Christian Children. We feel ourselves ready to take our share in either part, or in both parts, to help the piece on, orderly, to its all-longed-for and fitting end, when the old legionary gives in to the faithful and persistent children, and says:

My idols all I cast away,
Christ's soldier to my dying day!

and joins them in the chorus:

Christ is risen! Christ is risen, indeed! Alleluia!

A catch of the tune brings up the words; a word or two calls back the music, so deftly and so closely are the words and music fitted to each other.

In "The Shepherds of Bethlehem," we seem to be in the stillness and the stir, by turns, of the cold nightfall and of the shepherds' cheery song which was

To keep themselves awake and warm.

It seems to us as plain and palpable a thing as can be, to our very sight:

When lo! an angel from on high,
Comes sailing down the starry sky;

and when the worthy tenders of the fleecy cattle straight take their way to Bethlehem ("Their flocks all following after them"), our feet join in the manifold trampling and pattering of sandals and small hoofs. Seeing and setting forth in the concrete rather than the abstract, the author has a special fitness for producing these effects.

In this book, "Carols, Hymns and Songs," Dr. Hopkins has given us words, and their music, of his own; words of his own to the music of others; his own music to others' words. Occasionally he follows a principle which he proclaims and advocates manfully as the rule of right in such cases, that in the matter of making an offering for the worship of God, all private claims or right to authorship should be disregarded wherever a good line or stanza comes to one's hand already made better than one can make.

He sometimes changes, perhaps, the substance (in great part) of every stanza of a hymn, without scruple, for reasons of his own. Not every one will agree with him that we can spare the discarded lines, even where his substitute is distinctly excellent; as it is, for example, in the first stanza of "Jerusalem! High Tower Thy Glorious Walls," where, starting with the first two lines of the Hymnal, he changes the next two into these:

My heart hath gone where thy fair beauty calls,
And dwells no more in me.

Bp. Whittingham's, as they stand in the Hymnal, are:

Desire of Thee my longing heart enthrals,
Desire at home to be.

Readers will be glad to see, in this book, a new translation of the Advent Anthems, "O Sapientia," and the rest. Seven of the eight, by several hands, are given in the Hymnal, and as they stand are capable of very effective use in the week before Christmas, while we hope to hear them sung in plain English prose, also, with full leave, at their season. Those who look to the Latin will observe decided merit in Dr. Hopkins' excellent work, which usually keeps the special invitation of each antiphon. The Hymnal's translators, instead of these special invitations, which end every antiphon except the last, "O Virgo Virginum," and which are generally distinct, though with occasional repetition, bring up the end of each with one single (very good) refrain, unvarying.

Draw near, O Christ, with us to dwell,
In mercy save Thine Israel.*

* Some idea of the variations may be formed by comparing with the above refrain a turning like this (which we make only for illustration) of the ending in "O, Radix Jesse," "Veni ad liberandum nos: jam noli tardare:"

Come, Thou, O come to set us free!
Make us no more to wait for Thee!

In the well known favorite carol, "Three Kings of Orient," the striking of a note or two of the author's spirited and graphic music brings up "Field and Fountain, Moor and Mountain," and almost sets our feet going in "Following yonder Star."

Because of this life dwelling in them, strong and vigorous *αὐτοκινῶν* we speak of these old friends as ever fresh and new. They are, indeed, like streams that, having trickled down the living rock for unknown ages, are welcome to our lips to-day, and slake our thirst as well as they were welcome and refreshing to those who followed the wood-paths before our time.

This book is as rich in musical composition as in song. We have already, without attempting critical examination, touched upon forceful and striking merits of Dr. Hopkins' melodies as joined to his words. We have here the notes of many new tunes, besides those with which we are familiar in our Hymnals; and of these new will doubtless come forth many to be as much liked and as much used as (for example) that of Dr. Hopkins for "Come, Holy Ghost, our Souls Inspire," whose excellent fitness must have been felt by every one who ever heard it with his heart.

But we must not dwell so long on this book as to give ourselves no time and space for the later very attractive volume, "*Poems by the Wayside*." In this our author has given to others whatever in "more than forty years" of strenuous thinking, writing, and doing, and serving God, he has put into such shape as, whether satisfying or not his own ideal, he hopes may give pleasure to others, or help them at their need. Here are, perhaps, records of great strugglings of mind or heart; records of great happenings in the outer world or in the writer's own faring through life, happening to himself, but touching his fellows as having been thought or enjoyed or suffered by one who could tell them.

Here we have some longer poems of fancy, as "The Mermaid Isle," "The Witch Queen," and others

from earlier years. Here we have allegories, poems for occasions, descriptive poems, and here we have, too, new hymns and other songs. The variety of measure is as great as the variety of subject. "The Mermaid Isle," as the author tells us, was begun when he was fifteen and finished when he was twenty years old. An occasional line or two, where it serves his purpose, may be taken to his use from Thomas Haynes Bayly (are we spelling rightly the sea-singer's name of fifty years ago?); an occasional line or two may be taken from "The Ancient Mariner;" the heroine is the fair young orphan lady with the bad uncle guardian (of old verse and prose); but the whole poem is of our author in his youth. The "pearl boat," the caves under the deep, wide water, the island "far beyond the moon-lit sea," are all as his own fancy painted them, and the poem shows well his descriptive power. To this may witness:

'Tis as when, in the noon of a summer's day,
By the cicada's roundelay,
By the cool, clear brook in its bubbling play,
Or by the murmuring wings of bees,
By whispering trees or sighing seas,
Silence is bred, not broken.

We will not spoil the story for the reader by half giving it; but leave him to follow, under the sea, fair lady and fisherman

*ἐνθα Νηρηίδων χόροι
Κάλλιστον ἶχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός.*

We must let him find answer for himself to the author's question: "The Mermaid Queen, oh, who was she?" and to settle for himself what claim the fisherman who sat upon the rock and "let saut tears doun fa', intil the saut, saut sea," had to be caught by the mermaids three, and, undergoing "a sea change," to be led through the eery chambers of the deep and to bring back fair Lady Mary. We must leave him to adjust also, and adjudicate upon, the rival pretensions of the fisherman and the noble

knight who, at the last, bore off upon his saddle-bow the Lady Mary and wedded her in church. We must leave him to follow the frightful remorse and death of Sir Gerald, the wicked uncle.

The Witch-queen is the eldritch woman or lothelie ladie of old ballads; transformed by spell, brought back by Holy Baptism to her own shape, then beloved by King Dietrich, on whom she had fastened her company when he could only loathe her deformity, and married happily to him in the end, as she had proposed from the beginning, and as we doubted much whether she would be, and felt sure that she ought not to be.

More than one love poem here, in which strong feeling finds full and strong utterances, will interest readers who have feeling, and here are many carefully finished poems in which religious allegory, or a deep spiritual analogy (as in "Harebell Blue," "Seeds" and others), is very skilfully followed out for those of kindred taste. There are two interesting addresses: To Classmates (in good English hexameters*) and before college literary societies, on "Liberty." Some, too, of the "Carrier's Addresses" from the old *Church Journal*, which the author of these books made the brightest and most interesting, at least, of our Church papers, will be welcomed for their account of the Crimean War, the Sepoy Rebellion, and the Opening of the East, which will be always good.

Here is a Miltonic hymn on the Passion, from which we give, almost at random, a single stanza:

In vain false Pilate stands;
No washing of the hands

* By the way the Latin distich, which looks as if it ought to be elegiac, needs touching in its first verse, if it stands for a second edition, to make it scan. A little word left off, another short word put in elsewhere, would do this; if it be *opera pretium*. We have marked no other oversight, even of the slightest sort, by author or printer, in the whole book.

Clears from the heart the tinct of innocent blood!
 The crowd, with cruel care,
 Load His shoulders bare,
 Like Isaac's, with the sacrificial wood,
 And the red lash, with many a blow,
 Scourges His moaning steps along the road of woe.

From "Liberty" we take a single stanza:

But when the winds their battle-trumpets blow
 Aloft, with martial fury flashing,
 Up start the billowy hosts their armor clashing,
 With crested heads careering to and fro;
 Shoreward they rush, like plumed horsemen dashing,
 Headlong on the foe.
 At length within the hollow bay,
 In long-drawn, pensive sighs, the tempest dies away.
 The glassy swells with lazy, loitering sweep
 Along the curved beach slow-lingering creep,
 And gently round the silvery circle move,
 Till, by the mellow moon, their music seems
 Soft as the name of one we love,
 Murmured in dreams.

There are many pieces here from which we should like to make quotation, if it could be made without doing them injustice. As a general thing they are too closely put together and too much of a piece to bear tearing apart and showing piecemeal. The titles of some will suggest the prevailing character: "Sunshine on the Sea," "The Silent River," "Down the Wood-path," "The Village Good-night," "Moonlight on the River," "Sunshine and Shadow." In the hymns for German *chorals* will be found great energy of movement; take as an example the author's rendering of "Ein' feste Burg;" that mighty outburst of mankind's living faith through Luther's heart and voice. Dr. Hopkins remarks, very truly, that our indefinite article "a" has not the weight—the *quantity*, of the German "ein"—to fit it for a strong starting note. There is another remark too, which we offer to readers who are not philologists, as pointing out a strength of meaning which the German article still retains, more or less, and which our own, though derived in precisely the same way, has lost—

becoming truly an "indefinite" bit of grammar. Originally this article with us, as with the Germans, and again the Latin nations, meant *one*; in the Scottish branch of our tongue it held, later than in that below the Tweed, its form "ane" (pron. "*yen*") "honest man." In brave Luther's hymn, in Luther's time, and even yet, the word being a word, and being the same word, unchanged as the numeral, carries to the glorious opening something kindred, as if we said One fast-set stronghold is our God! One there is, if no other. A share at least of this strength lurks still in the article of the Germans.

In accepting a new rendering we need not disparage an older. Most carryings-over from one tongue to another are rather paraphrases than translations. There is more leave therefore for occasional freedom.

Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque, damusque, vicissim.

Of course, Bishop Whittingham, in his rendering, knowingly put "mountain fastness" as a new phrase, and not an English equivalent for the German.

Dr. Hopkins' "Slumberers Wake" to the *choral* Wachet auf has in it the picturesque life which is common to the original and to Miss Winkworth's version; he has well matched the original with a stanza of his own.

In spite of our best will, finding ourselves against the barrier which bounds our space, we leave off here, but we leave the author of these books to kindly hearts. He has bespoken his own welcome.

ROBERT T. S. LOWELL.

HAS THE TIME COME TO REVISE THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES?

THE result of the scientific investigation of the last fifty years, and the present tendency to greater liberality in Church thought, may well cause us to turn our attention to the Articles of our Faith established long ago. The question of the revision of the Prayer Book being now before the General Convention renders an examination of a portion thereof not inappropriate at this time.

A few reflections may be indulged in by way of preface. When Macaulay in one of his essays laid down propositions to the effect that theology is an exact science, cannot change, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, it would seem he was incorrect, on principle and historically. Theology is like geology, biology, sociology, a thing of growth. Like them, it is a science. Like them, it is not an exact science. Admit this, at once disappears all fear of conflict. If the Bible is the word of God, there can be no conflict between it and His works. Hence there can be no conflict between science and religion; nor has there ever been. Substitute for the word religion, theology, the case is different. Much antagonism has there been, much will there be. Geologists have disagreed with astronomers; theologians have warred with scientists. If there be an apparent conflict between science and theology, it can only arise from a wrong interpretation either of the words or works of God. Theology results from inferences, equally as geology. As the scientist seeks to interpret the meaning of the works, so the theologian seeks to interpret

the meaning of the word. If the source of each be the same, how can conflict come but from a mistake of the scientist or of the theologian? Neither can claim immunity from error more than the other, for each is human. History proves this. Theologians have been compelled to abandon beliefs once tenaciously held, to accept conclusions once pugnaciously rejected. So have scientists. Taught thus by experience, by principle, by an implicit faith in an infallible Creator, an humble distrust in their fallible selves, it is the duty, equally of each, to be ready to abandon any interpretation, the one of Nature, the other of the Bible, the moment it becomes clear on proper evidence that such interpretation is erroneous.

It has always been harder for the theologian to acknowledge error than for his co-seeker after truth, the scientist. But in the end, if there has been a conflict, and truth has been with the scientist, the theologian has confessed himself vanquished, has forgotten, even denied, that he ever thought otherwise, read his Bible again with new lights, and changed his dogma.

The scientist depends for his theories upon inferences from a group of facts. Subsequent investigation, greater knowledge, may show those inferences to be incorrect. Other facts not before known, or not known to have any connection with the former, cause the changes. Once he is certain of this, there is every reason for him to change his opinion, none for him to retain it. In fact, as discoveries increase, the more must the scientist's theories be tentative, until time has established them. His bias is entirely in the direction the inductive theory leads him. Lead him where it will, he follows. But the theologian depends for his dogmas upon the meaning, not of facts, but of words; words which remain the same yesterday, to-day, forever. No new group of words is discovered by fresh investigation. This it was, probably, that led Macaulay into maintaining that theology is an exact science like mathematics.

If the words remain the same, why should the theologian change his inferences from them? Yet he has done so. The first chapter of Genesis is the same to-day as it was an hundred years ago; yet, by none is its meaning deemed the same.

Take the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians. One hundred years ago, nay less, fifty years, or even twenty-five, it seems to have been the generally accepted belief that the self-same body which was deposited in the earth arose again. When the Churches repeated in the Creed, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," the meaning intended was, the very body of flesh and bones that was buried, the risen body presenting the same appearance in feature, lineament, expression as the deposited body—a glorified body, to be sure, but after all, the self-same body. You will find many an old sermon (antiquated now) depicting in eloquent terms the scenes at the resurrection day, the air thick with bones flying through it, bone seeking its adjacent bone, all the different parts of the body looking for each other! Those good divines do not describe what would occur among cannibals. They omit to tell whose body it would be, where one body had been eaten by another; nor do they account for the flesh and bones of the martyrs burned at the stake. Had you asked them, they would have exclaimed, Blasphemy! To extricate themselves from a difficulty raised by one interpretation, they would have invoked another. They would have ended discussion by saying, "With God all things are possible." Who adheres to that interpretation now? Yet that wonderful chapter rings its grand, inspiring tones in the same words to us as to our forefathers. The words are still there, the meaning has changed. This is the aptest illustration that theology is a growth, like other sciences. In explicit words S. Paul denounces a man who would believe the self-same body doctrine, to be a fool. "But some man will say, how are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool! That

which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be." Again, "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Yet the Church for centuries construed these words to mean directly the opposite.

What, then, causes the theologian to change an interpretation? The answer is, scientific discovery compels him to accept this conclusion, that there is a connection between nature and the Bible he had never dreamed of. That reached, he sees he must change his interpretation of the Bible in the light of well-settled interpretation of nature. What happened when Galileo said the earth went round the sun, and the Church said it did not, has been repeated ever since, will be repeated hereafter. There should be nothing startling in this. Remember how large a part construction has to play in theology. Construction is the Baconian theory of theology. The infidel Ingersoll thinks to throw a stumbling block in the way of Christianity when he asks the flip-pant, superficial question, if the Bible is the Word of God, why has not God written that Word in terms so plain there can be no dispute as to its meaning, he who runs may read? But he forgets, no matter in how plain and simple language God may have expressed His meaning, man's ingenuity raises qualifications, exceptions. Man construes the command to mean this, not to mean that, and presents the result as—theology; he to be damned who does not accept it. Thus, can this apostle of blatancy point out how much plainer and simpler could be written the command, Thou shalt not kill? Yet, the Christian soldier in war, the Christian hangman in peace, take life; the Christian divine acquits them by a construction, under certain circumstances, thou shalt kill. Can you devise a shorter, more explicit command, Thou shalt not steal? Christian battalions on a forage convert to their own use what is not their own, and are likewise acquitted by

a construction, sometimes thou mayest steal. Christ says, "Swear not at all." The thirty-ninth Article says, "The Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth."

Hence is demonstrated, by logic irresistible, that just as science is based on induction, so theology is based on construction. The Word of God is the same yesterday, to-day, forever. Man is not. Man's body dies. Man's mind is fallible. His brain is a portion of that decaying body. As he may err in deducing his scientific theory, so likewise may he err in constructing his theological dogma.

To sum our preface up—at any and every moment, the Church must stand ready to allow her doctrines to be examined from a scientific, as well as a Biblical standpoint. If they are found to be irreconcilable to incontestible facts, she must revise and rearrange them. She must therefore always stand ready to answer the question, has the time come to reconsider any dogma, in the light of well settled scientific discovery?

In proceeding to look at a few of the Thirty-nine Articles in detail, it is proper to say, there is no intention to attack them, or to maintain that they are wrong; the intention is to indulge in a few reflections about them, not to cast reflections on them.

This paper is meant only as an apology for a layman's presumption in daring to read those Articles in any other spirit than that of meekly swallowing whatever our spiritual doctors decide shall be taken by laymen. But we make bold to maintain, whoever reads the articles of the Church, with no *a priori* intention of blind acquiescence, will have some such thoughts as the following. They may be wholly wrong, superficial, or even apparently heretical, thoughts; even if so, it will not do to sneer at them, or be equally superficial and make the flippant answer worn out by constant use, "they betray great ignorance of sound Church doctrine." So long as the people, not infidels, but laymen of the Church, who

believe life to be so serious that they cannot "eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die," who must ponder on these things—so long, we say, as they have such thoughts, it is the business of the clergy to recognize this state of affairs, and greet it, not with gibes, not with sneers; but with kindness, with patience, above all, with sound sense, begotten of knowledge of science as well as of theology. Among other things, let us be informed what is the position of the Articles, what their authority. We laymen find them bound up in our Prayer Books. We read that they are established. Yet we often hear clergymen speak of them in anything but terms of respect; such as, "The Thirty-nine Articles, oh, they are not binding; we do not have to subscribe to them, as they do in the English Church; they are not part of our ordination vows; why the seventeenth Article is pure nonsense." What does all this mean? Is it right for our clergymen to laugh among themselves at the Articles, as did the Roman augurs at some of their rites and ceremonies? If so, we of the laity would like to know just how far this "benefit of clergy" extends.

ART. III. OF THE GOING DOWN OF CHRIST INTO HELL.

"So also, it is to be believed that He went down into Hell." The Book of Common Prayer was established in 1790. The Thirty-nine Articles were adopted in America in 1801. By Article VIII. the Nicene and Apostles' Creed "ought thoroughly to be received and believed." Clearly, this means as provided to be read by the Convention establishing the Prayer Book. But that Convention expressly informs us, it need not be believed that Christ went down into Hell. How? The Nicene Creed contains no affirmation where Christ was during the three days. In this it follows the sacred historians. The Apostles' Creed has "He descended into Hell." But as to that clause it is expressly provided (see rubric), that we may omit it entirely. We are given our election between three

things. We may affirm "He descended into Hell;" we may instead use the words, "He went into the place of Departed Spirits," as being words of the same import; or we may, as is done in the Nicene Creed, make no affirmation on the subject at all. That is to say, we need not believe that Christ descended into Hell. But if not, why does the Church tell us in Article III. that it should be believed? Again, the word Hell has become an unfortunate word. What Professor Huxley so aptly called the Miltonic theory of the Universe has been exploded. The burning lake has disappeared. But the word Hell, as long as it is retained, tends to foster the old erroneous ideas clustering around it. There is no need for Article III. at all (so the rubic says). But if there be, why not adopt the scientific phraseology of Article I., simply say, He departed into the invisible world. The four narrators, who knew if any one, do not pretend to more exactness, why should the Church?

ARTICLE VI. OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES FOR SALVATION.

Part of this article is our text. It is the key note of the whole score. It must always be held up to the theologians; quoted at them. They must be kept in perpetual remembrance of it. If ever, in a fight on their part, against any theory of science, they insist upon our believing something not to be found in the Bible, or if, for like reason, they insist on an interpretation of the Bible which is fanciful, strained, opposed to facts, to scientific discovery increasing our range of facts, let them be reminded, "Whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man." Let them read, mark, learn, inwardly digest those words, "may be proved thereby," for they justify the contentions of our preface, that interpretation, construction, are to theology what induction is to science. On its correctness

depends the whole structure. Just as the induction theory sometimes requires change of views, with a wider range of knowledge, so the construction theory may, with a wider range of knowledge, require likewise a change of views.

As to the Canonical Books recited in this article, the question is historical; hence not within the limit of this paper. It may be said, in passing, here is afforded a somewhat curious commentary on the doctrine of inspiration. The recital of the books of the Old Testament, the non-recital of the books of the New, prove the existence of a dispute as to the former, none as to the latter, to the extent that the question must be set at rest, in the one case by a formal recital, once for all, which is unnecessary in the latter. Uninspired men have disputed on what is inspired. Uninspired men have decided what is inspired, what is not! Inspiration then depends upon an uninspired *dixit*! This is purely a theological nut. Rome cracks it by her hammer of infallibility. How can Protestantism? It might be suggested, very humbly, whether, if Article VI. is ever revised, it would not be as well to put the "Song of Solomon" among the "other books"—say next to the "Story of Susanna and the Elders." If it is put there a great difficulty would be avoided. Theologians could then admit it to be a love song. But if you call it inspired you have to account for it on any theory but that. The usual one, that it is an allegory, and means the Church as the bride of Christ, is open to many difficulties, one of which is blasphemy. To an uninspired man it seems blasphemous to speak of the Church of God as possessing the attractions enumerated in Chapter VII., even though in allegory.

ARTICLE IX. OF ORIGINAL OR BIRTH SIN.

If ever the evolution theory becomes generally accepted, and many Divines are giving in their adherence to it in a modified form (see a paper by Dr.

McCosh, in the Princeton Review in 1881), this Article will have to be wholly rewritten, to conform to the teachings of that theory. Reference may again be made to the 15th chapter of the first Corinthians, as bearing a wonderful analogy to evolution. What is the transition from the corruptible to the incorruptible, from the earthly to the heavenly, but the evolution of the one from the other? Whenever evolution becomes accepted by the Church (it will be, if it is correct), the theologians reading this chapter in a new light, will doubtless point to it as a Divine confirmation of a theory, which for years they have been attacking as anti-scriptural. It may be too soon to recast Article IX. with reference to evolution. It may not be too soon to question the correctness of the phrase, "whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness," inasmuch as according to recent theological reasoning, he never had any. Development is the watchword of the theologians now. They say we deny evolution, it is opposed to the Bible, but we admit a development from ages back. But the development theory negatives just as strongly the originally righteous theory.

Genesis itself seems to show that Adam was not originally righteous, for it tells us he succumbed to his first temptation. Development as well as Evolution, necessitates the belief that men of the present day are better, morally as well as physically, than Adam ever was. If by original sin is simply meant, man's nature is and has always been imperfect, has in it the seeds of decay, that he "is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit," there could not be much dispute about it, our own consciousness enforces its truth.

But when you go further and affirm that Adam's sin is our *sin*, that we are sinful because Adam was righteous and fell, you—may be orthodox; but is orthodoxy in this case correct? is it logical? If Evolution be true, the time will come when theologians will be thankful that it is, for it will relieve them

from the doctrine of original sin as now taught. It will thereby save them from many an uneasy dilemma.

ARTICLE X. OF FREE-WILL.

This article and the XVII. on predestination, naturally should come together. Why they should be placed so far apart is hard to say, unless it was in the hope that their inconsistency would thereby be less manifest.

It is headed "Of Free-Will," but contains not a word upon the subject, except, perhaps, a denial by implication. If so, we are to understand we have no free-will; we are automatons, machines; we must move as we are moved. Did an ancestor of Herbert Spencer or Charles Darwin, have a hand in composing this article?

ARTICLE XVII. OF PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

Read this and Article X. together. What a boxing of the theological compass is here presented? Those good old divines, who quarreled so undivinely for a century over election and free-will, compromised their quarrel so beautifully that under the terms of these articles one can believe what one chooses, and be orthodox. You can have free-will to make election of what you please here. Talleyrand must have had these articles in mind when he said the purpose of language is to conceal thought. Strip off the verbiage. Get the kernel of every sentence. Man can do nothing of himself, no matter how much will he may have. God has decreed as to certain men He will do nothing, as to certain others He will. Although this is decreed "by His counsel secret to us," yet to godly persons, and to those who feel that they are godly (S. Paul never felt himself to be good, but, then, everybody is not like S. Paul), this is a great comfort; for to such persons this is an open secret.

But this doctrine of predestination is a pretty bad thing for those who can not affirm that they are godly, who do not feel the working of the Spirit of Christ, in fact this doctrine is like to hound such persons to desperation, making them worse than if there were no such doctrine. Finally, as if conscious of these dispiriting contradictions, as if conscious of breaking the twentieth article and expounding one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another (for when Christ said, "Come unto me, *all* ye that weary," He did not add, "those I have decreed to be damned may as well stay away"), they wind up with a very curious "Furthermore." Now, when we read this word "furthermore," we, of course, suppose some further statement is coming, some additional proposition. Nothing of the kind. "Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture." So we must ; but why say so especially in this connection ? "And in our doings that Will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." So it is ; but why point it out at the tail of an article on predestination ? Paraphrase this "furthermore" by expressing its spirit, and the "Biblical reason why" will appear. We feel we are a little mixed on this subject, a little mystical, a good deal contradictory ; we have been trying to harmonize Calvinist and Arminian, and formulate their antagonistic doctrines in such a way as to get them compressed in these two articles ; it has been a hard thing to do ; we admit we have not succeeded very well ; so, in order not to cause distress among the faithful, we will wind up with a general admonition, about which there can be no doubt or dispute, that you must receive what the Scriptures say, and follow what they declare ; or, in other words, you can believe as much or as little of these two articles as you think you find to be generally set forth in Scripture. And so it is to this day, our theologians continue their differences on election

and free-will, unhampered by articles which set forth both, either or neither, as the reader may choose or elect. If an article is needed on the subject, why not affirm, there is such a thing as free-will? Why? Because we are all conscious, in the depths of our souls, that we possess a free-will. There is such a thing as predestination. Why? Because we are all conscious, in the depths of our souls, we are wofully circumscribed, hampered, our free agency is in some mysterious way limited. Why not declare, in so many words, there is a mystery here, which we, theologians though we be, can not explain, try as we will; an apparent irreconcilability which we can not "down," try as we may; something which God in His wisdom has not seen fit to make clear. Perhaps, if the evolution theory turn out to be correct, it may help to solve this mystery, perhaps not. But let the Church declare it to be a problem which it can not solve. S. Paul said of a mystery he did not intend or know how to explain, "Behold, I show you a mystery." So, free-will and election are mysteries. The tenth and seventeenth articles are mystifications?

ARTICLE XXIII. OF MINISTERING IN THE CONGREGATION.

Two propositions are here laid down; it is not lawful for any man to take on himself the office of preaching and ministering before he becomes lawfully called and sent; those are lawfully called and sent who are chosen and called by men who have public authority to do so. It will be observed, two things are necessary, a choice and a sending. Do the men in the Church, who have authority to choose and send, always exercise a choice? The bishop, at the ordering of priests and deacons, casts that choice on the presenting presbyter; for he tells him to take heed that the persons he presents are apt and meet, for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly to

the honor of God and the edifying of His Church. The presbyter gives his word that he has inquired and examined them, and thinks them so to be. Then to make it doubly sure the bishop adjures all the people present that if any of them know any impediment to come forward and show it. It often happens that persons present do know of impediments, which cannot but hinder the exercise of the ministry duly, will not make it to the honor of God, and anything but the edifying of His Church. They are a class of impediments, however, which never seem to come under the range of the priestly eye: lack of fitness, of common sense, of influence over men, a marplot disposition, bigotry, narrow mindedness, foolishness, light mindedness evinced by an inordinate love of croquet and lawn tennis at fashionable watering places; phrased in the people's parlance, "a pretty man for a parson." But the people, having such knowledge, are polite; they do not wish to interrupt the proceedings, it would cause a stir; they sit still. The incompetent is ordained, and exhibits his impediments all through life, neither to the honor of God nor the edifying of His Church. How does this stand proved? Because of the general complaints against the clergy? No; that is not a fair ground. It is proved because the clergyman is no longer, except in isolated cases, the leader of his congregation in its thought or his work. They lead; he follows. Is it no use to say the congregations have become too independent; for they are not independent under a leader. They rate a man at his worth. Some of the clergy have a great influence, not only over the work but over the thought of their parishes; not only over religious thought but scientific, general thought. It would be well if more choice were exercised in the way of rejection. Why, the very presbyter, who presents the candidates and answers that he thinks them to be fit, will often have a slight mental reservation in the form of a prayer: that John Doe as he grows older may grow in grace,

and have a little more common sense; that Richard Roe may not be so light minded, and may learn not to care so much for tennis; that John Styles may become less bigoted; that Jacob Fen the moment he hears of a new scientific theory will not be quick to say, it cannot be true; it is opposed to the Bible; that he will read before he condemns. Beware, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall!

Attention should be called to the twenty-eighth article, as it furnishes an illustration for the position that theology is not an exact science. It affirms that Transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, yet for centuries, that was a dogma considered very precious to the believer. By one great, powerful Church it is still maintained. If a scientist had existed in the middle ages and affirmed that science demonstrated there was no such thing as Transubstantiation, the theologian of that day would have burned him, crying out that he was a blasphemer. His denial of the doctrine would have been repugnant to the Bible. Faith has changed since then, theology has grown, has evolved itself out of this tenet. Now it is the tenet which is repugnant to the Bible. What has happened before may happen again. Further discoveries may cause further changes. We need not take alarm at this. Of one thing we are sure, truth is truth; it will never change. Pilate's question "What is truth?" which, be it noted, Christ did not answer, has always been, will always be, the great question, till we attain the "fullness of knowledge." Of another thing we may be sure, whatever of truth we now possess will never be taken from us. If the Bible be true, science will confirm it. It has already done much. It has given us a stronger argument for the miracles than ever the theologians furnished—apart from the testimony of eye witnesses, which, however honest the witnesses may be, is not always conclusive testimony. That argument is drawn from what is being done among us now in every day matters, which are just as wonderful. Take the telephone

back to the time of Christ; show it to the guests at the wedding at Cana; show them the water turned into wine; let them taste that wine; let them put their ear to a small tube, and recognize the voice of a friend they know to be miles distant; then ask those guests which they think to be the more miraculous! This does not belittle the miracles. It serves to teach us a strong ground on which they can stand, that Christ brought into play some law of nature of which we know nothing.

Science also aids Protestantism against all the attempts of the Roman Church to reënslave *Christendom*. Macaulay all but predicted that she would finally triumph over Protestantism. But Macaulay did not take into account science, which makes such a reënslavement impossible. Away, then, with the cry of conflict between science and the Bible. Our faith cannot be shaken. There is no conflict of God with Himself. Let not man's errors be called God's truths. If there be a seeming conflict between science and theology, let us not be guilty of a misnomer, as Draper was, and call it a conflict between science and religion or between science and the Bible. Call it what it is, a conflict between a theory of science based on an induction from facts, and a dogma of theology based on a construction of words. Then ascertain by means of our reason, God-given for the purpose, whether the induction or the construction be wrong. If there appear no way, if each seems well established, let us wait in serenity for further light.

Lastly, it is highly pertinent to inquire whether an article should not be added, defining the attitude of the Church toward science. In the sixteenth century when the Thirty-nine articles were evolved out of the chaos which preceded their final adoption, there was no such thing as science. There was neither need of such an article, nor knowledge on which to base it. To-day it is a vital question of the hour. The people are alive upon the subject. They hear of

important theories advanced by scientific men. They hear shrieks of alarm at once raised by theologians. They are pained to see their religious leaders first assume such theories to be opposed to Scripture, then endeavoring to prove them false by Scripture. The people know this to be illogical. They know, if any new theory be incorrect, science itself will discard it; if correct, will confirm it; if confirmed, then their religious leaders, turning completely round, will vie with each other in squaring their Bibles to conform therewith. The people know this has happened before and will happen again. When the people hear the theory of evolution fulminated against in the pulpit, why is it that they sit in apathetic coldness? It is because they say to themselves, evolution may be all wrong, but it may be right. We will not be blind followers led by blind leaders into a ditch. We will suspend our judgment. But the people would like to know one thing, where does the Church stand on this all important subject, this great question of the nineteenth century, the relation between science and theology? Is the Church truly represented by alarmist divines? Is the Church in antagonism with science? Does the Church recognize the fact that the scientist is as earnestly, as patiently, as faithfully seeking the answer to Pilate's question as are they who minister at her Altar?

If by an authoritative article, it is declared that the spheres of scientist and theologian are correlative, that induction in the one and deduction in the other are mutual aids to correct conclusions in both, no more will be heard of any conflict between them. Then will cease the spectacle now so deplorably prevalent of puny man setting at war the works and the word of his Creator. Then will appear fresh significance in the words of the Psalmist, "O Lord, how glorious are thy works! thy thoughts are very deep. An unwise man doth not well consider this, and a fool doth not understand it."

JOHN BROOKS LEAVITT.

WHAT SAYS EGYPT OF ISRAEL?

The Cities of Egypt. By Reginald Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, London: 1883.

The Egypt of the Past. By Erasmus Wilson, F. R. S., London: 1881.

The Exodus and Monumental Egypt. By Dr. Henry Brugsch. Edited by Francis H. Underwood, Boston: 1880.

History of Ancient Egypt. By George Rawlinson. Two Vols. New York: 1882.

THE "Uarda" of to-day is altogether "a different story" from what any Uarda of forty years ago could have been. For now we see the Egypt of Rameses II. reflected in Eber's fascinating book, and quite as accurately reproduced, for example, as are "The Last Days of Pompeii," in Bulwer's novel of that name. That strange, huge face above the sands,

staring right on, with calm eternal eyes,

may keep its secret, if secret it has, but the Nile is no longer a geographical perplexity, and the thousand-mile strips of cultivated land along its banks have been so delved and their archæological disclosures so mathematically and synthetically deciphered, that some of the pages in our histories of the Pharaohs are quite as clear and fresh as some we have of the times of the Plantaganets.

Egyptology is doing more than inspire romance, enrich archæology, fill up historical voids, and bring to light the wholesome ethics that antedated both Christ and Moses. "King Pharaoh has now become Defender

of the Faith," said perhaps a score of years ago, was not the rhetoric of religious enthusiasm. And to-day we may assert that Egyptology has nothing in hand to disprove the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, or the essential features of their entry into, life in, and exit from, the land of the Pharaohs, as narrated by Moses; while, positively, monumental and other records, topographical information, coincidental evidence, analogous thought and material, are not wanting to answer at length the question: WHAT SAYS EGYPT OF ISRAEL? The reply here must be condensed and salient.

The four books specified above, stamped each by individuality and a definite object, are happily combinative for pursuing a course of study upon ancient Egypt. The "*Cities of Egypt*" is particularly instructive and stimulating to beginners (books on ancient Egypt are usually ponderous), and touches deftly and charmingly on both national and personal characteristics. An index is wanting.

As clear and well-arranged a text-book on the subject as exists is that of Mr. Wilson, who modestly says, in the preface: "We claim nothing of all herein contained, as our own;" to which we add: His treatment of the subject and methods are *his own* and admirably presented.

The little book, satisfactorily edited by Mr. Underwood, is taken from Dr. Brugsch's invaluable "*Egypt under the Pharaohs*;" while Rawlinson, now a standard, needs no introduction here. The reproduced American edition is superior to the English in type and illustration.

Mr. Poole, while commending Brugsch and quoting him largely, does not always reach his conclusions; indeed he is quite judicial at times. Mr. Rawlinson is conservative—a scholar rather than discoverer—while Dr. Brugsch, both scholar and explorer, is quick to take a clue and quick to follow it up. The great German Egyptologist personifies patience and brilliancy—the patience of Lepsius and brilliancy of Mariette.

Of the thirty-one dynasties of kings, now assigned to Egypt, from Menes to the conquest by Alexander the Great, those between the twelfth and eighteenth, with the nineteenth, chiefly concern us here. "The Middle Empire," when the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings ruled the land in part or whole, occupies a period somewhere between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties. "The New Empire" began with the eighteenth dynasty, and during the succeeding dynasty the great oppression and exodus of the Israelites occurred. In all probability the Hyksos usurpation covered a period of about 500 years*—as given by Brugsch, Poole and Wilson—although just how long many of the individual reigns lasted is unknown to us. Mr. Wilson's table (p. 448-9) assigns to the thirteenth dynasty seven Pharaohs of one name and one of another name; to the fourteenth dynasty, the list Manetho made; to the fifteenth dynasty, six Hyksos kings, who are named; to the sixteenth dynasty, ten Hyksos kings, of whom Nubti alone is named; to the seventeenth dynasty, three Hyksos kings, whose names have survived.

But breaks or uncertainties in the regal chronology of a nation of the past do not necessarily make an unknown void in its contemporaneous life and work—particularly in the case of Egypt. What the cautious Rawlinson observes is applicable to the above remark: "Where a nation is isolated, or where its history at any rate is unmixed with other histories, and flows on in its own separate channel without contact with any neighboring stream, the need of exact chronology is much less, and a considerable vagueness in the dates may be tolerated."

Manetho, now shown to have been more accurate, in the main, for his time—B. C. 323-285—than early

*Rawlinson, however, reduces it to about 200 years (Vol. II., p. 23). But Brugsch and others do not assert that the Hyksos ruled Egypt 500 years: for much of the time they controlled only the Eastern Delta. See Wilson, p. 188. See, also, Rawlinson's admission, Vol. II., p. 188.

Egyptologists allowed, mentions the first six Shepherd Kings, the first of whom at the close of the fourteenth dynasty assumed complete and personal control of Upper and Lower Egypt. He tells us, according to Josephus, that these kings came of a wild and rough people, from the countries of the East, and that the whole people bore the name of Hyksos, "*hyk* meaning king, and *sos*, a shepherd."* Brugsch intimates his belief that the name came from Shasu, the region east of Egypt occupied by the pastoral Bedouins, and from Hak, a sub-king. He suggests that after the usurpers were expelled Hak (or Hyk) was tacked on as a nickname in contempt.† He comes to the conclusion "that the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt was made by the Syrians, who, in their campaigns through the arid deserts, found in the Shasu-Arabs welcome allies who well knew the country." Rawlinson says: "We lean to the belief that the so-called Hyksos or 'Shepherds' were Hittites, who * * * moved southward, and obtaining allies along their line of route, burst like an avalanche upon Egypt."

Everything shows that the Hyksos invaders met with no prolonged or national resistance; and Manetho's recital of their destructiveness and barbarities may be received with considerable allowance, when we consider that he was intensely Egyptian in his prejudices, and as such depicted the period of humiliation in his country's history.‡

These now verified facts bear directly and indirectly upon the Israelitish sojourn: the Hyksos Kings ruled the Delta east of the Nile, their civil capitol being Zoan, an fortified post on the eastern frontier, Avaris.

* Brugsch, pp. 95, 97.

† See Wilson—foot note— p. 185.

‡ Manetho, quoted by Wilson, p. 184, and comments following. "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol I., p. 287. Rawlinson, Vol. II., pp. 199-201. Joseph's Pharaoh (Apopi) is "a mild, civilized, and somewhat luxurious king." *Ibid*, p. 210.

The neighborhood of Zoan was the starting-point for the great Exodus, which must have occurred after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and may be assigned to a period in the nineteenth dynasty. The Hyksos worshipped, as their supreme god, Set, identified with the Semitic Baal; the usurpers, while using the official and illustrative language of the Egyptians, and patronizing Egyptian sculptures and arts, left their Semitic impress on many things.

After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the common people, more or less blended with the old Egyptian stock,* remained, and, as Poole states, with reference to the Eastern Delta, "from Abraham's time to our own, a brave people, larger in bone and stronger in muscle, and of broader shoulders than the Egyptians, and of a more independent temper, has pastured its herds in the vast luxuriant plain, and fished the prolific waters of the great eastern lake."

As instances of the Semitic impress to which I have referred, we find the Hyksos monuments patterned after the Egyptian models, while the costumes and head-dresses have distinctly their own Semitic casting. If Germany had occupied Italy in the age of Raphael, we should see the Germanic impress on the Italian arts and architecture of his day. The winged Sphinx, introduced to Egypt by the foreigners, is a striking example of the new forms and shapes given to Egyptian sculpture.

Why have we no monumental list of the Hyksos kings? Partly because the ruins of the cities of the Delta have been little explored or exhumed. Zoan is a case in point, and Poole truly says, "It will be hard to gain any knowledge of the city on the spot, until some one shall have taken the pains to dig into the vast mounds which cover a storehouse of historic treasure, almost certainly containing contemporary records of the sojourn, the oppression, and the Exodus

*Many of them as captives in war. See Rawlinson, Vol. II., p. 218.

of the Hebrews. The book is there ; who will reach down his hand for it, and open and read its ancient pages?"

The other, and, I think, chief cause is to be found in the deliberate and energetic efforts of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty to efface the names of the usurpers, and to supply their own. The colossal sphinxes of the Louvre, the stone at Boulak, the lion found near Bagdad, the statue at Mukhdam, are signal instances of this scratching with a high hand for a low purpose.

Notwithstanding this, two of the royal names have been deciphered, and they differ little from Manetho's—, Apopi or Apopa on the tablet, and Aphosis in his history, and the king Nubti or Nub, who, according to Brugsch, reigned about 1750 B. C., or a little before Joseph came into his office under Apopi.* The tablet of red granite, known as Nubti's Tablet,† was found in the temple of San-Tanis (Zoan) dedicated to the god Set. King Nubti took the official name of "Set, the powerful." Inquires Brugsch, "Was it the intention of the foreign prince to be prayed to as the god Set?" This tablet is dated by Rameses II., who erected it, 400 years after Nubti, who is thought to have established a calendar beginning with his own reign. Now that Rameses II. and Mineptah are generally accepted to have been the monarchs of the Great Oppression and the Exodus, the 400 or 430 years before the Exodus (according to Gen. xv. 13, or Exodus xii. 40) take us back to the immigration of Jacob *under a*

* Josephus puts Apophis, or Apopi, in the fifteenth dynasty, but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius put him as the last in the Manethonian list of the Hyksos Kings. And the latter are in agreement with the monumental and other records. A word here upon the use of Egyptian royal names: Other things, such as accuracy, being equal, the writer prefers Apopi (Brugsch) to Apepi, Thothmes to Thotmes or Thutmes, Mineptah or Meneptah to Merenptah, and Rameses (for dignity) to Ramses, &c., &c.

† Described by Wilson, p. 301. Translated by Birch, "Records of the Past," vol. iv.

Hyksos King. The year when Rameses erected the Nubti tablet is not known; his reign, however, lasted 67 years,* and Joseph lived to be 110 years old; so that without any chronological discrepancy Apopi could have been Joseph's Pharaoh, and, indeed, Joseph have outlived him, as is commonly accepted.† Remarks Brugsch:

This singular coincidence of numbers, as we openly admit, appears to us to have a higher value than the data fixed on the grounds of particular calculations of the chronological tables of Manetho and the fathers of the Church. * * * * * Independently of every kind of arrangement and combination of numbers, they prove the probability of a fixed date for a very important section of the general history of the world on the grounds of two chronological data, which in a most striking way correspond with one another, and of which each separately has its origin in an equally trustworthy and respectable source.‡

Both Manetho and the Apopi of the deciphered cartouche are supported by the invaluable First Sallier Papyrus in the British Museum, which preserves the name of Apopi, and gives an inkling into the relations between Joseph's Pharaoh and Upper Egypt. Let us condense the record.§ Sekenen, a descendant of the oppressed Pharaohs, reigned as Hak or subking at Thebes, tributary to Apopi. "King Apopi in the town of Avaris," runs the record. Apopi sent word to Sekenen to relinquish the worship of the Egyptian gods except Amon, which Sekenen respectfully declined to do. Then followed a second message, which (probably as a pretext) had reference to a well for cattle or the stoppage of a canal.

Note the greeting of Sekenen to the messenger: "Who sent thee to the Southern region; hast thou come hither as a spy?" Or, as Brugsch translates it,

* Wilson, p. 273. Rawlinson, Vol. II., p. 334.

† Rawlinson, Vol. II., 253.

‡ P. 127. His entire presentation of the case (pp. 125-7) is clear and convincing.

§ "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., pp. 231-244.

"Ye are spies, and ye are come to see where the land is open," that is, naked. How like the greeting of Joseph to his brethren!—"Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come." Apopi's third message breaks off in the beginning, and we are left to conjecture what he said. So much for a torn papyrus; but half a loaf is better than none.

Beyond question, the mutilated document* treats of the causes which led to the uprising of the Egyptians against the foreigners, discoursing upon minor matters also. Sekenen had two successors known as the patriot kings, bearing his name, who warred with Apopi. One of them built a Nile flotilla to descend upon the Egyptian Netherlands, and its commander was "a Captain Aahmes," who lived to serve "under his royal namesake of the eighteenth dynasty, Aahmes I." At El-kab, 52 miles south of Thebes, is a tomb which contains a long inscription relating to the great services of Aahmes under four successive kings. But a few words from it relating to the defeat of the Hyksos at Avaris, which the Egyptians besieged, can here be given: "My father was a captain of the deceased Ra Sekenen. * * * * Then I became captain in his place. * * * * They besieged the town of Avaris. * * * * Conquered Avaris."

Were the tombs of the Sekenens undiscovered, we know at least of their existence at Thebes, for "In the Abbot papyrus, which is among the most valuable treasures of the British Museum, the burial places of these Pharaohs are mentioned."†

Some years ago the mummy case and mummy of Queen Aahotep were found at Thebes, and, upon the

* Brugsch, p. 114. Poole, p. 72. Says the latter: "In the reign of Apopi, the Theban kings, possibly discontented with Joseph's strong rule, began to make head against their foreign overlords." Wilson, p. 189.

† "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I, p. 247.

wood of the coffin, two little ships in gold and silver, bronze axes, and great bangles for the ankles.*

She was the mother and wife of the Pharaoh Aahmes who descended the Nile, with an army and navy, captured Avaris and drove out the Hyksos. Says Brugsch: "Aah-hotep is therefore the proper ancestress of the eighteenth dynasty." My reference to Aahotep, in the line of discussion, is to call attention to the little ships in gold and silver placed conspicuously upon the wood of the coffin (not within, or in wraps) of the royal woman in whose time *a naval flotilla* was an essential element of the war of independence.†

Although I know of no writer who refers to this as a coincidental proof or circumstance, it is to me quite striking as such.

Under Aahmes the Hebrews simply changed rulers. What part they took in the war he waged for five years against the Hyksos, we can only conjecture; and indeed, "for above two centuries," according to Poole, "from the death of Joseph to the birth of Aaron * * * we have scarcely any hint of the state of the Hebrews.‡

"Here again," insists he, "is a cogent reason for exploration of sites in this district."

A few words upon the influence of the Hyksos domination upon Egypt for good. "They established throughout the territory a uniform system for mili-

* Besides which were found, between the wraps and on the body, various articles attesting "that arts and manufactures were not allowed to flag during the reign of Aahmes" (Wilson, p. 196). Says Brugsch (p. 122): "The richest and most precious of the ornaments showed the shields of the Pharaoh Aahmes."

† Rawlinson (Vol. II., pp. 212-13), graphically outlines the work of the army supported by a fleet, or the fleet by an army.

‡ The Israelites could not have been an important military element—at least numerically—in the war for Egyptian independence, under Aahmes. Jacob's colony of 70 persons, with (probably) their attendants, could not have so multiplied as to be an important fraction of the (perhaps) five millions of population in Upper and Lower Egypt.

tary and revenue purposes," remarks Rawlinson, "and did much to crush out that spirit of isolation and provincialism which had hitherto been the bane of Egypt, and had prevented its coalescing firmly into a settled homogeneous monarchy. * * * * Thus the blow by which the power of Egypt had seemed to be shattered and prostrated worked ultimately for its advancement, and the Hyksos domination may be said to have produced the glories of the Later Empire." And Brugsch, supported in his view of the case by Wilson and Poole, pointedly says of the alleged vandalism of the "Southern Tartars," as somebody called the Hyksos, "We will simply put the question, If those foreign kings were in fact desecrators of the temples, devastators and destroyers of the works of by-gone ages, how is it that these ancient works, although only the last remains of them, still exist, and especially in the chief seats of the Hyksos dominion; and further, that these foreign kings allowed their names to be engraved as memorial witnesses on the works of the native Pharaohs? Instead of destroying they preserved them, and sought by appropriate measures to perpetuate themselves and their remembrance on the monuments already existing of former rulers."

Everything indicates a high degree of national progress and civilization for Egypt from the middle era of Hyksos rule to the immigration of Jacob. Canon Cook, in his *Excursus upon Exodus* in the *Speaker's Commentary*, says: "The Pharaoh of Joseph was unquestionably Lord of all Egypt;* the country was in a state of great prosperity; the religion, all the usages and institutions of the Pharaoh and his cour-

*He, however, uses this language to argue against Joseph's Pharaoh having been a Hyksos (p. 449); and he assigns that honor, after showing how troubled he was to come to any conclusion, to Amenemhat III, the last king but one of the twelfth dynasty. But his *Excursus*, republished in the American ed. of 1872, was of course, prior to recent discoveries and researches.

tiers were those of ancient Egypt." The words of Wilson upon the Hyksos Pharaohs—applicable to Joseph's Pharaoh—may almost be dovetailed with the foregoing, except that there is a distinction between "the religion" and "the religious *observances*," not to be overlooked; for the essential dogma of the Hyksos was the *one* god, Set, not dissimilar in idea to the modern Allah—"there is one God"—of the Moslems. Wilson says: "They fell quickly and naturally into the customs and even the religious observances of Egypt; temples were raised to the Egyptian gods; the temples, judging from their ruins, must have been as magnificent as those of their predecessors," etc.*

We will take up some of the Egyptian analogies or correspondences, which, aside from an independent argument, quite conclusive, harmonize the Mosaic and Pharaonic records.

Camels have not been found on the monuments, although Moses speaks of them in connection with Abraham's visit to Pharaoh. Now, we know that in all probability it was a Hyksos king, or one who ruled in the Delta, who entertained the illustrious "sheik." How do we account for the Mosaic statement that Rebecca and Tamar were veiled (like other Eastern women), and yet when Rebecca was in Egypt, she was seen by the princes and commended to Pharaoh? The monuments represent women as unveiled; only after the Persian invasion (B. C. 340), were the Egyptianesses veiled.

Look at the caravan-folk who bought Joseph. They carry "spicery, balm and myrrh" to Egypt; imported by the Egyptians; invaluable for embalming and ceremonial uses. Pliny's *Botanical List* of Egypt does not mention these articles. Joseph was sold to Potiphar as a slave; it was the most likely thing for the traders to speculate on Joseph; the

* P. 185. See Rawlinson in support of this, Vol. II, pp. 200-1.

monuments prove there were slaves, and those of Semitic origin. Joseph's interpretation of the butler's dream implies the existence of vines and use of wine in Egypt; the Israelites in the desert hankered after the vines of Egypt. To the "impossible" of Von Bohlen and others who asserted that the vine did not grow in Egypt nor the people drink wine, the Mosaic finger points to Beni Hassan and El-kab where vintages and vintaging are fully delineated. We may even judge how the Pharaonic Hamburgs were "put on" as dessert, and there is a cartoon of two diners-out returning home, "half-Nile over," as I suppose "half-seas over" was then rendered.

Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and seven lean kine, and the seven rank and seven thin ears of corn, is as natural a narrative as can be. The buffaloes feeding among the reeds "upon the brink of the river," and not in the meadow; the cow, an Egyptian symbol of fruitfulness; the corn to Egypt almost what rice is to modern India; the corn officially stored away in the granaries, as the monumental illustrations delineate,—these are genuine local colorings. Joseph's sending "meat for his father by the way," long disputed on the ground that the Egyptians did not eat meat, now receives confirmation from the sculptures of cattle-slaughtering. I have a photograph of a sculptured Egyptian abattoir that I saw. Why did Joseph shave himself previous to going before Pharaoh? Although the nations of the East wore beards, the Egyptians shaved, and Joseph simply conformed to the etiquette of the land, particularly of the court. Nothing is said by Moses of Jacob's having a coffin, while he particularly notes that Joseph "was put in a coffin in Egypt."*

A stone sarcophagus would have been quite out of the question for the anticipated desert journey.

* See Speaker's Commentary, Vol. I, p. 235.

"And they spoiled the Egyptians,"* taken in connection with Exodus III, 22, is almost a verbal photograph (to use a modern word) of the jewelled ladies of the monuments—in rings, bracelets, necklaces, etc.,—before handing over their "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold," to the Hebrewesses. To this day Egyptian women often carry their "fortunes" about with them in trinkets—commonly of coin in some form. What accurately-drawn irony in the taunt to Moses, "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" No graves!

Brugsch points out a somewhat striking coincidence between the narrative of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, in Genesis, and that of a certain Anepu's wife and a comely youth named Bata, in the tale of "Two Brothers," written for Mineptah III., the king succeeding the Pharaoh of the Exodust. He regards the tale as "a most precious and important elucidation of the history of Joseph in Egypt."

"God hath made me lord of all Egypt," Joseph's word to Jacob, recalls to the Egyptian student the narrative of Saneha, or Sineh, who must have held under Amenemhat I., of the twelfth dynasty, a position like that of Joseph under his Pharaoh.† So at a later period—over 200 years after Joseph—we find Horemheb, according to the account of a monument at Turin, clothed with the same viceregal power, becoming heir to the throne, and at the death of the Pharaoh succeeding him. These transactions show how natural it was for Joseph to have found favor in his king's sight, and been made lord of all Egypt.

* Exodus, xii, 36.

† P. 134. Canon Cook says, in the Speaker's Commentary: "The story abounds throughout with illustrations of the narrative in the Pentateuch."

‡ Wilson, p. 142-6. The papyrus of the "Two Brothers," known as the d'Orbinney, is in the British Museum; and that about Saneha ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. I., p. 126) at Berlin.

We will now revert to Pharaoh's dream.

The seven years of plenty indicate extraordinary risings of the Nile. Have we monumental and geological proof of such risings? At Sumneh is a register of eighteen risings of the Nile in the reign of Amenemhat III., in the twelfth dynasty, and of five risings in the reign of his immediate successors. The highest rise then is put at over twenty-six feet above the highest of modern times, and the lowest thirteen and a half feet above the highest modern flood, the average being about twenty-four feet higher than that of to-day; "that is to say, sixty-two and a half feet in the past and only thirty-eight and a half feet at the present.* The account by Lepsius of this Nilometer of Amenemhat, an Egyptian monarch renowned in the arts of peace, is interesting reading, particularly for the object I have in view.†

Wilkinson subsequently discovered vast tracts of Nile alluvium, and even as far down as Gebel Silsilis patches of loam—all far beyond the risings of the river at present. There were seasons of extraordinary plenty during that period of Egyptian history, such as Joseph, according to Moses, foretold and occurred in the former's lifetime.

But this is not all. At El-kab, near the tomb of "Captain" Aahmes, is the tomb of Baba, whose inscription runs, "The chief at the table of Princes." In the record of his deeds is this: "And now when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to the city at each famine," or, as may be translated, "to each hungry person." This Baba lived under Sekenen‡ about the time Joseph was governor under a Hyksos king. Brugsch considers the "many years," taken in connection with the context, to refer to a definite historical time. A *succession* of famines,

* Wilson, p. 171.

† Lepsius' Letters, Appendix, pp. 508-22.

‡ Which of the three successive Sekenens I will not here assert. See Wilson, p. 191; Rawlinson, vol. II., p. 205; Brugsch, p. 182.

owing to a deficiency of water, was of the greatest rarity. Taking the data and circumstances together, I put the pertinent inquiry, Can this extraordinary famine in Baba's record be other than the one in which Joseph figured? Recall, too, the language Joseph used to his brethren, and the similar greeting of Sekenen to Apopi's messenger, and how Kings Apopi and Sekenen, Baba and Joseph are chronologically united to our clear retrospection!*

The monk Syncellus (about A. D. 800), in his *Chronographia* (vol 1, p. 62), states that Joseph ruled at the time of Apopi, and that this tradition was then "received by the whole world." As Rawlinson remarks of Syncellus, he was "a writer whose extensive learning and entire honesty are unquestionable."

The period from Joseph to the Great Oppression will now be illustrated by both poetry and prose. A poem in honor of Thothmes III. and the god Amon, on the granite tablet now at Boulak, and the poet Pentaur's pæan upon Rameses II., contain lines which remind us of the grand lyric of Moses after the overthrow of Pharaoh's host. I cull a few sentences at random from the former:

I give thee power and victory over all lands.
 All people shall feel a terror before thy soul,
 And shall fear thee to the utmost ends of the world,
 To the four props of Heaven.
 I have taken away from their nostrils the breath of life.
 I make thy manly courage penetrate even to their hearts.
 My crown on thy head is a consuming fire,
 A burning fire in their hearts, and in their limbs a trembling.

Also from Pentaur's magnificent tribute to Rameses, found on temple walls and in a roll of papyrus:

A hundred thousand sank before his glance. Terrible is he when his war-cry resounds, fiercer than the whole world, ferocious as the grim lion in the valley of the gazelles. * * * Not one of their

* "The only just conclusion is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh."—Brugsch.

riders raised his hand to flight; their courage was sunken within their breasts, their limbs gave way, they could neither hurl the dart nor had they courage to thrust with the spear. * * * I appeared like the sun-god at his rising in the early morning; my shining beams were a consuming fire to the limbs of the wicked.

Upon the Hebrews familiar with these hymns of rejoicing, and particularly upon Moses, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," these and other "Te Deums" must have had a strong lyrical and linguistic effect. At any rate, we must notice the Egyptian finish as well as Semitic vigor in the Song of Moses.

Just as we have in the famous mural pictures at Beni Hassan (and elsewhere) the Semitic and Hebrew visages, so in the poems and inscriptions of the days when Semites settled in the land and the Israelites dwelt in Goshen, we have the linguistic proofs of the presence and influence of foreigners in the land. And concerning this immigration-scene at Beni Hassan, so like the caravan of Jacob at a later day, Canon Cook does not exaggerate, as I recall the vivid representation,† in saying: "The features of the family, their color, and their costume, a rich tunic, or 'coat of many colors,' are thoroughly Semitic."

The prose is of the severest kind—brickmaking. Well do I remember the lively touches, in a pictorial illustration, given to a monotonous business. The laborers are prisoners from Palestine or Syria, which Thothmes III. at that time held in subjection. They carry the water in jugs, break up the ground with hoes, knead the clay, form the bricks in a mould and lay them out to dry. Two "taskmasters" watch the business, stick in hand; the one standing up is about to touch smartly the bare shoulders of a workman.

† "A translation cannot equal the power and beauty of the original." * * * The Mosaic language exhibits to us an exact counterpart of the Egyptian mode of speech. "Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. II., p. 52.

‡ The writer spent five months in Egypt and Palestine.

He says, "The stick is in my hand, be not idle." Compare this with Exodus v, 13: "And the task-masters hasted them, saying, Fulfill your works, your daily tasks, as when there was straw." This Theban-tomb representation in all probability does not depict a scene from the Hebrew servitude,* but it does illustrate precisely how the Pharaohs treated those whom they oppressed. The making of sunburnt bricks and building of temples—even cities, like Zoan—on a wholesale scale, from this Thothmes to the Exodus, was undoubtedly the forced labor of slaves, captives, and the fellaheen of the land. The great oppression of the Hebrews, which lasted eighty years, probably began some two centuries after this brickmaking picture was executed. Rameses scented the great danger to Egypt from so strong a colony as the Hebrews: so he not only tried to keep them under, but he put them where they could "be of the most use" to him.†

Chabas‡ refers to Papyrus Anastasi, No. III, which paints a similar "likeness" to the Scriptural picture. Twelve men engaged in the fields in making bricks, having neglected their task "of producing their tale of bricks every day," were set to work in building a house. The order is given, "Let there be no relaxation that they should make their number of bricks daily in the new house in the same manner, to obey the message sent by my lord." Now "my lord," Moses' Pharaoh, was of the same mind when he said, "Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they labor therein."

The "Pithom and Raamses," built by the Israelites

* So "the best critics of the present day" think. See Rawlinson, vol. II, p. 251.

† Exodus I, 7-15. "In all this," says Poole, "Rameses saw a danger. The State was fast becoming oriental. What, if the old masters should win again what they had lost? * * * Hence the great persecution" (p. 78).

‡ Wilkinson, Vol. I, chap. V, p. 343.

as treasure or store cities, have been verified by Brugsch and others. Their sites and ruins—assuredly of the latter city, known also as Zoan—have been identified. The past spring has witnessed the solution of an important problem—the final and, we believe, positive proof that the Pithom of Moses and Brugsch are the same. “M. Naville,” of the Egyptian Exploration Fund Society, “has now completed the examination of Pithom,” states the secretary, Mr. Poole, in *John Bull*. These points are clearly established by M. Naville: First, Pithom bore before the Roman time the name of store city, such as is assigned to the place in Exodus i, 11; the names ‘treasure’ and ‘store’ being of the same meaning or interpretation. This alone is a new and striking confirmation of the accuracy of Exodus—thanks to the inscription M. Naville found. Second, remarking upon the confirmation by Naville that Pithom was built by Rameses, Poole touches upon the accordance of historical conditions. He says: “The Egyptian monuments give us two Pharaohs, the earlier of whom, Rameses II, reigned some months over sixty-seven years. The characters of the two—the stern tyrant Rameses and his vacillating shadow Mineptah—are even traceable in the stereotyped phrases of their inscriptions, though not as clearly as in the lively portrayal of the narrative of Exodus.” Third, the surmise of Naville that two sphinxes, a double tablet, fragments of a *naos*, and a group of Rameses II, and two gods, brought to Ismailia,* came from Pithom, is correct. Fourth, that a great step in the synchronization of Egyptian and Biblical history has been made as the result of the examination of Pithom.

Our interest in Zoan is great. Here dwelt the Pharaohs of the oppression with their royal courts; here Mineptah witnessed “the miracles in Egypt,” and “the wonders in the field of Zoan.” A letter in the

* Described by Maspero in the *Revue Archeologique* (1878).

British Museum, written by Panbesa, a scribe, in the heat of the oppression, vividly depicts the beauties and attractions of this Egyptian Damascus; recalling in a way the pictorial sketch by Prescott of the environs of the city of Mexico when visited by Cortez. Says Panbesa: "I found it abounding in good things, without a rival in the country of Thebes; the very home of happiness. Its meadows are filled with every good thing." If half that he narrates be true, I do not wonder that the Israelites in the desert hankered after the good things left behind. I notice particularly this pen and ink sketch of certain edibles: "Its canals are rich in fish, its lakes swarm with birds; its fields are green with vegetables; lentils grow everywhere; melons, sweet as honey, ripen in the well-watered beds. Its barns are full of wheat and durra, piled upwards to the sky. Onions and sesame are in the garden, and there, too, the apple blooms, together with the vine, the almond, and the fig, all in luxuriant abundance." And I open to Numbers xi, 5, to read: "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." Little did Panbesa dream that he was doing the Israelites such a good historic turn! "We may suppose," suggests Brugsch, "that many a Hebrew, perhaps Moses himself, jostled the Egyptian scribe in his wandering through the gaily dressed streets of the city."

But what positively of the great Israelite in these days? Rameses had a daughter named Meri (literally "dear"), a name similar to Merris, who, according to Josephus,* found Moses, as the scene is laid in Exodus ii. Her name, with her numerous brothers' and sisters', is in the temple of Abydos, and was put there many years before Moses wrote his history!

Now mark this circumstantial evidence: One hundred years after Rameses' death, when the name of

* Antiquities, II, 9, § 85.

Moses had become a by-word to the Egyptians—perhaps one of terror to unruly children—a place in Middle-Egypt bore the name of Moses*. It was named T-en-Moshé, “the river-bank of Moses,” or “the island of Moses,” and lay near the city Khuaten, now the Tell-el-Amarna.

With a remark or two, in reply to our interrogative subject, I will proceed to close this recital of some of the evidence that Egypt presents in support of the Mosaic record of the Israelitish sojourn. The Exodus itself would require many pages in this Review, to fully and clearly present, and we seem to be on the threshold of further and valuable discoveries in the Delta, which will afford fresh and abundant material for the Biblical Egyptologist.

The famous treaty concluded at Zoan between Rameses and the Khita (a powerful nation of the East) is a remarkable diplomatic document in many ways; its interesting feature to us is its apparent allusion to evil-disposed and restless subjects, likely to evade the treaty and give trouble. The Israelites, then a numerous people in the land, were full of murmurings at their hard lot, and, doubtless, often attempted to flee across the border—the treaty particularly touching upon the treatment of fugitives. Says Brugsch : “We may perhaps read between the lines that the Jewish people are meant.” The phraseology of the treaty is in places like forms of speech in the Pentateuch, particularly the clause concerning rewards, which begins: “But he who shall observe these commandments,” etc., and the saving clause with reference to punishments: “There shall not be put to death,” etc.

We cannot pause to speak of the condition of the empire under Mineptah—Egypt was then a troublesome country to govern—and will merely note an occurrence of much significance to the Mosaic student.

* “Egypt under the Pharaohs,” Vol. II, 112.

Certain Arabs of Edom petitioned Mineptah for permission to return to the rich pasture lands of the Delta. One of his officials reports: "We have carried into effect the passage of the tribes of Shasu from the land of Aduma (Edom) * * * to the lakes of the city Pitum (Pithom)," etc. These Arabs, driven over the border by Rameses II, were probably too numerous and inclined to be troublesome, when the Israelites dwelt in the land. After the Exodus there was room enough and to spare for a great many tribes. At any rate, the fact of this colonization is striking when we consider that "the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied * * *, and the land was filled with them." Mineptah was graciously pleased to receive as settlers the people his royal father had no room for, and had expelled the land.

The witness of Egypt to the sojourn of the Israelites presents evidence sometimes devious and sometimes direct. Little or great, circumstantial, or inferential, or positive, all points the way of Moses—never to the opposite quarter. As we scan the evidence "down the stream of time," it is not unlike a far-off river seen from a lofty mountain height; hidden, for a time, only to reappear; a silver ribbon, and then an indistinct line through foliage and haze. Yet the testimony is all down current, and in one general direction, whatever the turns and the obscurities. Of Moses' sketch of Israel in Egypt it has been said, with a figurative accuracy, that "the warp of the story is Hebrew, the woof is Egyptian." To the impartial Biblical student in Egyptology the inevitable conclusion is: Wherever Egypt speaks of what Moses wrote in the Pentateuch, she bears witness that his record is true.

WILLIAM C. WINSLOW.

RUM AND POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY.

THERE is on the face of it something incongruous and absurd in putting together rum and politics, as if they had any interest in common. Any combination between the two is plainly unfit and unnatural. Since the tendency of the rum traffic is always towards a violation of the law, it should suffice that rum-sellers enjoy the protection of the law without being specially authorized to say what the law shall be. They are chiefly to be governed and not to govern, while their traffic is to be suffered and regulated according to the provisions of expedient and wise legislation, as the best interests of the community may determine.

The political interest, on the other hand, when conceived of as it ought to be, is almost the exact opposite of the rum interest. It is only to be concerned about the good order and welfare of the body politic, and is charged with the duty of keeping clear of every connection or influence which would pervert its authority, degrade its character and make the administration of the law a matter of selfishness and abuse. Least of all, should it combine with a gigantic interest which is associated with every form of lawlessness and crime, and which must inevitably drag down and debase any association or system which condescends to keep it company.

Now, it is just this unnatural and degrading co-partnership which New York City is compelled to witness and from which it greivously suffers. There is no risk in saying that the most formidable and shameless combination in this city to-day is that between the rum-sellers and politicians. In the

administration of municipal affairs the two have become leagued together as if necessary parts in the same system and as if their interests were inseparable. They seem to have fallen into the idea that rum is for politics, and that politics are for rum; that it is in either case a duty and a privilege to uphold the interest of the 'other, whoever may remonstrate or oppose; and that the rum-sellers are expected and entitled to play an especial part in city legislation, doing good work for the politicians, while the latter will use their powerful influence in protecting the interests of liquor. It is vain to remind such persons that the end of high-minded politics is not spoils and plunder, and that a man is not necessarily qualified to become a member of the corporation because engaged in selling whisky. Vain also, to suggest that a Board of Aldermen largely made up of liquor dealers would not be likely to legislate with especial impartiality as between their own, and the interests of the public. It is to be presumed that this politico-whisky school takes for granted that all is fair in rum and politics, and that they can neither be ridiculed nor reasoned out of the idea that in a great city of twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, and with hundreds of interests and millions of property to be protected and cared for, it is their supreme business to care for themselves, and to so manipulate the city legislation as to secure their mutual profit and advancement.

Let us look a little more closely into this combination of rum-sellers and politicians in which the allied parties have, in many respects, become so identified and mixed up, that we can scarcely distinguish the one from the other, or tell which of the two is head of the firm.

What is equally sought for by this joint interest or "corporation sole" is such control in the city government as will give the politicians the greatest amount of patronage and plunder, and the rum-sellers the greatest possible protection in carrying on their busi-

ness. Show to either party that the other can be of no service to it in these respects and the firm would immediately dissolve. It is just because the members are able to play into each other's hands, while, in thousands of instances, the same men serve in the capacity of rum-sellers and politicians, that they are fixed in the purpose never to break a combination from which they reap these double advantages.

As for the politicians, they discovered years ago that the rum interest is the most powerful factor in city politics; that it counts more in caucuses and conventions; commands a greater following, and controls more votes than any other class of citizens. That, of course, means power and plunder, and for either class politics have no other meaning. For the politician, at least, they constitute his sole idea and definition of statesmanship, as they are the only thing which he rolls as a sweet morsel under his tongue. This, then, was enough to make the politicians eager for the combination. The incongruity of uniting rum and politics they never thought of, because from their point of view there is no incongruity about it. They had leveled down to a point in which no company is ennobling or degrading, and if it ever once occurred to them that a man is known by the company he keeps, it never so much as entered their minds that they could afford to forego any company which they could turn to their advantage. The offices and rewards being the objective point; how could they disdain the services of ten thousand rum-sellers, nearly every man of whom is an active and zealous politician, while every dram-shop, being devoted to the double use of drink and politics, will serve as a sort of centre in which to instruct and discipline the forces and direct the campaign?

Consequently, it has come about that whatever its disreputable ways and bad associations, the rum interest is most gladly welcomed and taken into confidence; is largely, not to say obsequiously, patronized and consulted; is put in full possession of party plans

and secrets; is especially counted upon for assistance and success; and understands beforehand, that in addition to other accrued advantages, it is to have its share of the plunder.

If rum-sellers, as a class, were no more interested in municipal affairs than men of a hundred other occupations, no one could complain. But the shame and misery of it is that they have come to the front as by far the most important and conspicuous element in city politics. So far from being spurned or slighted on account of their occupation, they are received with open arms, so to speak, into the best political society. They are in every sense the equals of the politicians, and both together so constitute a sort of double-acting, compound movement in working the machine which controls the city government, that we can scarcely distinguish the one from the other. Certainly, in considering the interests of rum, we find ourselves at every moment following up the interests of politics, and in considering the interests of politics, we are equally following up the interests of rum.

In the next place, for we must try to distinguish between the two, the rum-sellers have special interests of their own, and certainly one good turn deserves another. When we find them so compliant with party discipline and so active and unremitting in local politics, so forward to attend the primary meetings and supervise the appointment of delegates and making of nominations, so ready to furnish supplies of men and money, with which to carry on the campaign, we could not expect them to expend so much devotion and zeal for nothing. It is not at all a case of disinterested benevolence, and they, too, are mindful of the maxim that to "the victors belong the spoils." But more to them than the spoils of office is the matter of having the right sort of men for Aldermen and Commissioners of Excise. And to place such men in office and secure such legislation as will

interfere as little as possible with the traffic, is as much a part of their business as the traffic itself.

If it be thought strange that liquor-dealers as a body are so much more active in local politics than the majority of people engaged in other occupations, it is to be remembered that the former have far more at stake. Sellers of provisions and dry goods have nothing to fear and are concerned to have the government as good as possible. The fraternity of thieves and gamblers have nothing to hope for and are concerned to have it as bad as possible. But liquor-dealers being engaged in a doubtful occupation whose benefits, whatever they are, are offset by great disadvantages and evils, understand full well that to have the Government as good as possible is, so far as the traffic is concerned, but one remove from having it as bad as possible, and that it is for their interest to have it just good enough to give them the protection of the law; and just bad enough not to expose them to risks and penalties.

It is just here that the politicians with their compact organizations and stringent discipline; their vulgar, presuming bosses and dictators; their arbitrary rules and exacting methods; their hordes of servile, mercenary followers; their substitution of promises and rewards for civic pride and patriotic feeling; their greed of office and scorn of principle; their prowling everywhere and always for jobs and contracts which will give them patronage and plunder; their admiration of nothing lofty and contempt of nothing low; it is here that, in turn, the rum-sellers find what is exactly suited to their purpose. The politicians have not been ashamed of them, why should they be ashamed of the politicians? Indeed, while we hear of factions and wranglings among the latter, and an occasional split, the rum-sellers and politicians appear to be so perfectly joined together in one heart and one mind, that whatever is wanted by the one, is agreeable to the other, and we never hear of so much as a jar to suggest a case of incompatibility.

Accordingly, the liquor dealers confidently rely on the politicians to join with them in having the governing power of the city in the hands of men who will strengthen and protect their business. There is a mutual understanding that in as many of the wards as possible this is to be the foremost, supreme issue. The work of caucuses and primary meetings means this, and only this. Any opposing considerations would not weigh for a moment. Any unfortunate disbeliever in rumrule, if listened to at all, could not hope to be sent as delegate to the assembly, and least of all get a nomination for the assembly district. With the rum-sellers or politicians it is not in the least a question of high character, intelligence, knowledge of city affairs, fitness to be a member of the corporation, but of having men who are sound on the liquor question. The fact is thus accounted for that in a city having 225,000 voters, the ten thousand rum-sellers, who, other things being equal, would be entitled to barely one representative in the Board of Aldermen, have twelve or thirteen out of the twenty-four. Indeed, of other professions and trades, there are only two of a kind, two of the members of the board being set down as lawyers, and two as politicians, while there is only one eating-house keeper to represent the seven thousand three hundred sellers of food. It has come to pass, then, that the one interest in the city which ought to have a bare representation in the board has managed to get the balance of power, as if all the other great interests of the city, the industrial, commercial, financial, were of less account than the interest of ten thousand rum-sellers. This shameless monopoly so far from being the result of chance or accident, grows out of the fact that a combination of liquor dealers and politicians are determined to have their men and to manage the affairs of the city to suit themselves; that this allied interest is sworn to render, each to the other, a mutual service; and that it canvasses every ward, follows up every man, manipulates, bargains, buys, bullies, and works the ma-

chine in ever conceivable way, so as to get and retain the controlling power in municipal affairs.

That such an alliance would degrade and prostitute the government of the city goes without saying. As a member of the Board of Aldermen said to the writer, everything tends to degenerate. In one sense, government under such conditions is no government. It certainly is not government by the best, and little more than abuse and mal-administration at the hands of the worst. The order of things has become reversed, and in an important sense, the class that ought to be subject is in power, while the class that ought to be in power is in subjection. As a consequence, one of the richest and most influential cities in the world; a city whose representative, governing body ought to be a matter of pride on account of the character, intelligence and fitness of the men who compose it, is largely made up of such a collection of selfish rum-sellers and low-lived politicians, that it is considered a matter of reproach to be included in their company, as it is impossible to mention their names without exciting ridicule and contempt; that taking into account their ignorance and incapacity, their want of experience in anything above the tactics and bargaining of grog-shop patriots and small politicians, their want of civic pride and high aspiration, the Board of Aldermen, as a body, is felt to be a reproach to the city. It is safe to say that the governing body of no other great city in the world is so thoroughly disqualified and discreditable.

How these trustees and guardians of the city have been moved to carry themselves we have seen in the matter of Excise Commissioners. Everybody except the combination feels that the Board of Excise shamefully abused their power in granting so many licenses, and, in not a few cases, to persons so notoriously unworthy and disreputable. Neither the Commissioners nor Board of Aldermen, however, have so much as had a suspicion, apparently, that the former did more than was their duty to do, or that they are less than

profitable servants. Accordingly, when a commissioner resigned and the Mayor nominated another to fill his place who was thoroughly acceptable to the rum-sellers and politicians, the board confirmed him without a moment's hesitation. On the other hand, when the terms of this and another member expired, one of whom was not in favor with the boss, while the other was not in favor with the combination generally, as being non-partisan and opposed to the liquor interest, the board refused to confirm them for a month. Indeed, it is well known that a tremendous pressure was brought to bear on the Mayor to nominate men who were thoroughly committed to the politico-rum-selling interest, while an equal pressure was brought to bear on the board not to confirm the nominations of the Mayor. Again, when the Mayor sent in the names of two other men, one of whom was a liquor dealer and a politician, the board, which for a month had refused to confirm a Christian gentleman, and then rejected him by a vote of twenty against four, confirmed the liquor dealer by the same vote without delaying fifteen minutes. Indeed, when a member moved to defer action in the matter that they might have time to look into the nominations, he was at once voted down on the ground, no doubt, that it needed as little time to look into the antecedents of a politician and a rum-seller, as it had needed a month of time to investigate a gentleman and a Christian. The case then stands thus: The Excise Commissioners must be the creatures of the Board of Aldermen; the Board of Aldermen are the creatures of the rum-sellers and politicians; while all are the creatures of a powerful boss who controls the machine and dictates to the Mayor, as if it were his privilege to be a creature of the Boss. It is in this way that this precious combination undertakes to ride over New York City, controlling its government and living on the profits of rum-selling, patronage and spoliation.

When it comes to the Police Commissioners, the

Board of Aldermen would naturally use their confirming power in the interest of their constituents, and the former have certainly demonstrated in their recent vigorous action in dealing with illicit liquor saloons, gambling houses and evasions of the Sunday Excise Law, that, if they were not resting under the spell of some paralyzing influence, they were, at least, resting on their oars. In view of this increased vigilance on their part, and that sudden waking up of justice in the office of the District Attorney, which has swiftly meted out to offenders their much delayed deserts, it would, perhaps, be ungracious to inquire too closely into those obstacles and complications which seem to have been the occasion of the law's delay, whether in making arrests or trying cases and punishing the guilty.

Of more account is it to inquire, in what follows, whether anything can be done to stay, and, if possible, break up this wretched system which has done so much to enslave and disgrace the city. That the task is a most difficult one needs no showing. That it must be seriously taken hold of, if the city is to have any decent government at all, is becoming the settled conviction of all good citizens.

The first business in hand then, is to unite without distinction of party against this allied interest between rum and politics. Let it be plainly understood that rule through a combination of this sort cannot be otherwise than demoralizing and corrupt. Good government, under such conditions, is out of the question. No party can ally itself with such incongruous elements and be carried on at the dictation of such selfish interests and not forfeit its reputation, and to that extent make itself unworthy of support. It is not a question at all about belonging to this party or the other, as touching the general affairs of the State or the nation. But, so far as the government of this city is concerned, a man should refuse to belong to any party which is subject to the behests of rum-sellers and machine politicians. The rule of

either would be a disgrace to the city. The rule of both combined is enough to curse and destroy it.

So far as the Corporation is concerned, the special thing to be aimed at is to get a Board of Aldermen who shall worthily represent the entire interests of the city, and not that one interest which is so largely at war with all the others. Let it be determined on all sides, that in one way or another the greater part, at least, of these liquor-dealing Aldermen must be made to step down and out. That this will be a most difficult thing to do in view of the political make-up of the various wards and Assembly districts, no one doubts. That the majority of the Board is made up of such men is due, of course, to that discipline and efficiency of party organization which makes it little less than treason not to vote for a nominee who has been endorsed by the machine. Suppose, on the other hand, the friends of honest government regard it as a kind of treason to vote for a man *because* he has been endorsed by the machine, and especially, *because he is employed in selling liquor*. Let it be taken for granted that if this occupation does not absolutely disqualify him from being a suitable trustee and guardian of the city—which is presumably the case—it does not help him bring to his task any special qualifications, and whether it does so or not, the liquor interest is only entitled to be fairly represented. If, on the part of the disbelievers in rum rule, there was anything like the courage of those who dictate in the interest of rum and regular nominations, and anything like the zeal and activity of those who do their bidding, it is possible that in a majority of the Assembly districts a very different class of men might be elected to the Board. At any rate, things have come to a pretty pass, if in a city of 225,000 voters, ten thousand rum-sellers can command a following which will put a majority of their men into the Common Council, whatever citizens of a different way of thinking may wish or do to the contrary.

In case it is impossible to change the character of

the Board by the present method of election—and the task is believed to be well nigh hopeless—it might be in order to reorganize the Common Council by dividing the city into different Aldermanic districts, and electing a certain number of the Board Aldermen at large. This is what is proposed in Brooklyn, and a bill to this effect awaits the Governor's signature. By such means the better elements in other parts of the city might be able to neutralize that body of voters in the several wards and districts, who abuse the franchise in the interest of the rum-sellers. The principle of local self-government should certainly be retained, if possible, but whether the representation shall be more or less local, is of inconceivably less consequence than that the city shall not forever be disgraced by selfish misgovernment in the interest of a class.

Another way to solve the difficulty would be to take away the confirming power from the Board and put it into the hands of the Mayor. This is what the Mayor recommended in the proposed changes in the charter. Had such power been given him, there is good reason to believe that he would have constituted the Board of Excise of a class of men who would have been in every way acceptable to the better class of citizens. As the matter stands he was blocked, and might have been blocked indefinitely, had he not ungraciously succumbed to the Board by sending in acceptable nominations.

If it be said there is something unrepugnant and dangerous in placing so much power in the hands of a single man, most certainly there is. But it is a matter of actual and dangerous abuse of power at the hands of many, in which, perhaps, some risk must be run in the hope of changing things for the better. There would seem, however, to be little to apprehend in this direction, if the action of the Mayor of Brooklyn may be taken for an example: Certainly, not the most partisan and reckless Mayor could do worse than constitute a Board of Excise which would literally

sow the city with dram-shops, and make a crop of dragon's teeth to be harmless in comparison.

Of equal moment in working an effectual reform will be the enactment of a new Excise bill, by which to limit the number of dram-shops and increase the fee for licenses. The new bill, as lately amended by the Governor, has nothing to say in these respects, and gives promise of affording little or no relief from the burdens under which the city groans. The nine-thousand and seventy-five licenses granted last year, yielded a revenue of only \$510,000, while twenty-five hundred licenses, or one to each five hundred of the population, would, at \$500 each, as in the bill proposed, bring a return of \$1,250,000. This would in some degree meet the increased taxation growing out of the traffic. The enactment and enforcement of such a law would, in the opinion of the Police Commissioners, have "a most beneficent effect." "Any new legislation on this subject," they say, "would be framed with the idea of making the licensed liquor-dealers themselves the most interested, active and efficient agents in the prevention of the unlicensed traffic. This can only be accomplished by a higher license fee than any now required in this State. A man who has paid dearly for the privilege of selling liquor himself, will see to it that others do not sell unless they have paid also." In these opinions the District Attorney entirely agrees. He also expresses the belief that in the "enactment and enforcement of a proper Excise law is to be found the solution of the social problem which is rapidly becoming one of enormous and alarming magnitude; and in the suppression of many forms of vice and crime, which, of late years, have become rife in this community." Surely, in the face of such testimony, that large and influential class who have seen enough of the humiliation and disgrace of government at the hands of rum-sellers and machine politicians, will shrink from no task by which to rescue the city from such shameless misrule.

That the enactment of a law so greatly limiting the number of licenses and increasing the fee, will, of itself, involve difficulties of no ordinary kind, will appear from the fact that, of the seventy-one Democrats who voted on the bill as vetoed amended by the Governor, sixty-two were in favor of free rum. It is plain, therefore, that the bill which is now being drawn can never hope to pass the Legislature without changing the character of that body in its attitude towards the liquor question. Accordingly, it is proposed by the Church Temperance Society to agitate the subject throughout the State, and especially in the cities having a population above ten thousand, of which there are twenty-five. By this means it is expected to convince the public of the fitness and pressing need of the measure proposed, and return men to the next Legislature who will give this State an Excise bill which is something more than a dead letter and a failure.

With the passage of such a bill, and the creation of a Board of Aldermen who fairly represent the city, something will have been done to weaken, and it is hoped, break up that combination between the rum-sellers and politicians, which has done so much to degrade and disgrace municipal government, and bring reproach and distrust on our institutions. It brings us, in fact, face to face with that most serious of all questions connected with free institutions, the administration of government in great cities.

So far as the rum-sellers are concerned, it is not proposed to do them any wrong, as if they were of less account than other citizens and less entitled to their rights. It is not a question, primarily, whether they more than others should be under the law. But it is a question which the community is called upon to know and decide, whether they, of all others, should be above the law, as if their interests were paramount and supreme. That is a question so easily asked and answered, that whoever believes in the

one-sided administration of law in this great city by other representatives and for their special benefit, richly deserves his share of the odium and disgrace which befalls the city in consequence.

LESTER M. DORMAN.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS A SPIRITUAL INSTRUMENTALITY.

THE advent of Christ into the world was a Divine assertion of right and power, which presented considerations challenging the attention of man anew, to such relations as had already existed, joined to new ones about to be revealed. It conflicted at once with innate propensities, and all acquired indifference and neglect. It abruptly encountered the one, and still prominent human inclination, that of underrating and overlooking the advantages of present opportunity. It disclosed infirmities, and offered remedial agencies. As light discovered objects at the material creation, so now there was to be the diffusion of a light, exerting a new and added penetration. In this new medium the Kingdom of Heaven was to become *apparent* two-fold, by outward and sensible testimony, and by undeniable, unmistakable and inward evidence—"within you"—in individual character. It was to continue, marked by these two parallel distinctions. Faith, which had existed inseparable from human experience, had been confined to the few, so far as any marked examples appear. Consequently, the event of the Incarnation included more than could then be accepted, or in any sense comprehended. The manifestation of God in the flesh was easily construed as a new mystery, if it did not at once introduce a developed kingdom, with places of worldly honor and distinctions, with glittering crowns and exalted titles. That it was possible to attain greatness by other than the conquest of arms and by

an overwhelming onset, was never conceived. The character, the words, the work of the Incarnate God conveyed no commensurate immediate conviction to minds lacking a subtle power yet to be made more distinct. Aggressively, "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," burst upon eyes which only saw men as trees walking. By an illumination, before unknown, what was hid was now to be made visible, and elements hitherto dormant or inoperative were to take on the form and movements of life, warmed to energy by a permeating influence divinely urged. The agencies inaugurated were so opposite in character to any as yet presented, that not only they but the Author of them met chiefly derision prior to open opposition. That "the foolish things of the world should be chosen to confound the wise, and the weak things to confound the things which were mighty," had no meaning that could be assented to in that day. Plainer truths were but partially and imperfectly understood, even by elected disciples. The injunction to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," was to their conception narrowed down, at the first, to their own day's journeyings, without, perhaps, a thought of that succession of Apostles, and complex means which should be provided to complete the eternal purpose of the Almighty One. But, to His Omniscience, that command involved all the intricacies of the infinite plan, from the foundation of the world, the necessities of their day, and equally clear stood out the enfolding of that which was to come, that which has come, and which is now seen; and besides, the significance of untried possibilities which slumber at our very feet, yet to expand into reality and achievement.

Could those ardent followers but have had a glimpse of our day!

The universal sway of the one great empire of the world, which awed and which fettered them in every step of their progress, never had such palpable and

tangible proofs of existence and might as the visible Kingdom of Heaven presents to our favored eyes.

What secular government to-day can array so many unmistakable witnesses of established dominion? The sun does not set upon that nation which guards one day in every seven inviolate, wherein to proclaim homage to the King of Glory. Temples in which to worship are planted regardless of boundaries, beyond which ambassadors dare not intrude; more numerous and noticeable than all the fortifications ever erected.

An authorized ministry by a succession indisputable, maintain both the spirit and the right of their Lord, and are numbered by increasing scores of thousands.

Subjects, there are, comparatively innumerable,—literally members of Christ,—largely and intelligently so considered. With them, the “weak ones,” invincible in undeveloped power, the millions upon millions of the children of the Church,—a marvel of contemplation. History has no parallel to the vast organization of that unmeasured instrumentality,—the Sunday-School. No devotion to science, or secular education, no temptation to conquest ever marshalled such an aggregate body, by corresponding inducement, neither could hold it, by such ties as make it attractive, or compel such unselfish devotion to any cause, as characterizes it. Laborious, self-sacrificing and gratuitous service and supervision are extended on every hand.

The very gratuitous service alone, defies comparison with any or all the vocations of this world.

What infused impulse marks it in these singularities? From whence derived? Not from this world! From what altar comes that sacred fire which kindles and inspires it?—the Church,—the very Body of Christ, and does she perceive like the adorable Master “that some one hath touched me,”—in all this? Has not the time arrived when her fostering care can be bestowed upon it more confidently? Does she pos-

sess a single constituent element with scope more varied or extensive?

The imperfect character which the Sunday-School has been allowed to assume in many minds has arisen from sheer lack of direction as well as misdirection. It has been tolerated too much as an ill-arranged, incongruous outcome of lay zeal, without deep foundation or root, of recent and therefore of temporary and unenduring growth, and yet, too serious in its nature to be deemed altogether preposterous,—too closely allied in many of its features to the affections of parents and approved by too large a constituency to be ignored, and still, not of “the body”—not exactly a satellite, none being quite prepared to say a fragment, cast off in a tangent toward some possible resolvable sphere.

Admitted to be a reformatory aid, and at once an antagonizing influence, with some semblance of desirableness, and at the same time obtrusive upon prescribed functions, under already established obligations. Objectors differed as widely and seriously as its promoters, in judgment and discussion upon its claims.

On the other hand the clergy where overburdened with a large and varied charge, sought assistance in reaching and teaching those within their cure, and still, because the Sunday-school was unknown, and therefore originally unprovided as a means, approached it with caution and distrust, and this partly because of its defects in operation.

Experience with it, however, led to a better understanding and appreciation, for it evidently possessed merit, and that based upon results, more or less exhibited and sufficient to raise it into limited estimation.

The laity looked upon it as practical and a rightful factor and auxilliary of the Church, and with such conviction that led them to actively engage in its behalf. With a sort of commendable prescience they

saw in it a living and reciprocal vitality, that could seek and fulfill within the Church one consummation.

The existence of neglect in parental duty toward their offspring, was a deplorable fact which they were unable wholly to account for, but which had taken root so long before the Sunday-School was thought of, that its origin could not be admitted as rightfully charged to it, while it seemed possible by it to assist the Church in educating a new generation, which in turn through a more godly life might return to the advantages of what was intended by primitive measures.

Again the laity, with a consciousness of purity of intent and sincerity in their endeavors, could not, and would not admit, that they sought in any way to act otherwise than as devoted Churchmen—that they ought not to be suspected or charged, while laboring in the Sunday-School of the Church, with any desire or disposition to do ought without her sanction and guidance, and that in discussing Sunday-Schools as a whole, they should be exempted from criticism, which they deemed inapplicable to them. They saw in their day, both a need, and an opportunity.

To them, both being facts, it now comes to pass that reasoning alone will not solve the problem, nor reconcile differences.

Therefore, the Sunday-School must manifest capabilities and exhibit results, in order to induce further trial, continuance and adoption, as a legitimate and suitable instrumentality in the Church. To become convincing, a defined and possible aim must be indicated and settled upon,—in perfect accord with the true design of the Church, in harmony and consistent with its every mode, precept, ordinance and sacrament,—in order to awaken a confidence where now wanting and to establish it more firmly where accepted. It must prove itself capable of effecting results by its own special operations, and they to have true kinship with the Church itself,—capable of increasing them,—multiplying them, not in special

cases with here and there an instance only under peculiar circumstances, but generally,—universally.

Its range must be co-extensive with that of the Church, or it fails to become a satisfactory or worthy coöperator.

In order to secure these ends, what must be expected and developed in it, not now always present, or at least conspicuous? First, and most important, that its relations in every respect, may be rightly estimated and understood by those engaged in it, and with unanimity, thereby securing oneness of purpose and action. Then opportunity by which both clergy and laity may be brought together with frequency, for agreement on what is most profitable and desirable, that the definite action of both may be in accord, and both inform, and educate, by interchange of views and experiences, so that when put into practice in the several spheres of work, there may be a certainty that the services, the lesson, the whole character of the session, shall have one comprehensive design, and be equally perceptible in the treatment of the individual scholar.

As an inflexible rule every officer and teacher should be a *communicant*, else, how competent to teach the spiritual lesson of the sacraments?

The character and fitness of each should be thoroughly known by the Rector, who alone should appoint all of them to their positions. Progress has already been made in every direction through the holding of Convocations in various Dioceses, and nothing ever contributed so advantageously to help and inspire the laity as these. The workers are enabled to carry back to their parishes material suggestions and parts of a system, as well as to impart and exchange that which tends to advantage and improvement. Variances have lost their prominence, and differences disappear into unimportance. What elevated one benefitted and expanded the whole. The clergy were better enabled to realize that however crude the work seemed in isolated cases, a sufficient

number of a superior type portrayed a spirit which could be both respected and utilized. Out of the Convocation grew the leaflets for uniform instruction. These, receiving Diocesan sanction, carefully and ably edited, prudently arranged, furnish a system by which so much can be condensed into the brief hour of the Sunday School sessions. Being of so high an order in themselves, they incite a disposition for research and contemplation which enlarged and enriched the usefulness of the teacher, and the heart and understanding of the scholar.

With this gained, what followed in application of all this to the particular parish?

First, a confidence on the part of the Rector, that loyalty to the principles of the Church, was dear to the heart of the devout lay helper, and that many so inspired could be selected to act as his coadjutors.

Secondly, the exhibition of a firm and settled belief on their part that the Church furnished everything necessary to instruct and hold the children, when applied to their understandings. Other means which had passed through experiment, had all proved wanting and failures. The time having arrived when the whole system could be (as it should ever have been) brought completely and entirely under the guidance and control of the Church, what can be seen as a pervading and increasing purpose? As one decided step in advance, it is fully and most convincingly demonstrated that the Church's system of teaching is not only the right one, but, when steadily pursued, the very one which the children do not fail to recognize and become interested with.

Take the instances, and they are not only actual but on the increase, where a settled line of procedure is laid down; where the collective and individual requirements are made to sustain an equilibrium. On the one hand the collective need of such services, and the supply of such books of services, as are seasonably modified to be best applicable to the juvenile condition of mind, thereby creating the love of a de-

vout service of praise and prayer to God, is accompanied with direct application of such judicious selections of Scripture, Catechism and Collect as to develop a sense of intelligent personal obligation to the law and will of God. The anthems, hymns, Creed, Scriptures, and the ordinances and sacraments of the Church are arrayed in a manner to impress the learner with their living meaning and force for his or her special use and benefit, and with a directness not easily evaded. The fruits of this method can be judged rightly only in their production. If what is taught is retained and produces effects in those taught it is not in vain. Does the Sunday School system, by pursuit of these methods, result so as to claim for it the certainty of being a spiritual instrumentality? The facts must be the only answer. Where it causes the children to be brought to baptism, and where it leads to the fulfillment of the vows of baptism, is one evidence to that end. The numbers everywhere added from it, by confirmation, to the Church will be granted as another. The very presence of the teacher, noticeable in many examples, at the font with their scholars, presenting them, and at the same time becoming sponsors in absence of any other provisions, and the appearance of teacher and scholar kneeling side by side at the first communion does infer something of more than outward accomplishment. These, as the Church directs, have been taught the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and such other things as a Christian should know and believe to his soul's health—caused to hear sermons, and it is shown, brought to the Bishop to be confirmed—all in the line directed. As a reasonable test of the quality of the office performed by the Sunday School, it may be asked, are these confirmed ones really as well instructed, do they continue to live as Christians, in a manner equally irreproachable as do others brought to the Communion through other influences of the Church? Do they remain within it with equal steadfastness

and loyalty? Do they in turn become co-workers therein, in a less proportion than the others alluded to? This can be answered by every Rector, and perhaps variously.

The observation of the writer confirms him in the opinion that an unbiassed investigation would render a verdict favorable to the Sunday School, inasmuch as instances are in his mind where one-third up to three-fifths of the teachers of given schools are graduates from the same body—where it is a common sight to see veteran teachers pursuing their labors with former pupils as their companions in the same loving work, reduplicating it immeasurably. With such helpers, the minister is armed with greatly increased ability. Cheered by a loving and abiding sympathy—nerved with a purpose—having his laity at disposal, as multiplied instrumentalities, to sustain and extend the Kingdom in which he is commissioned to serve. Under him, rightly enlisted and employed by Divine arrangement, they bear part in fulfillment of the command to “preach the Gospel to every creature.” By patient, simple, repetitious teaching, the principles of a righteous life are trained into controlling habit, transforming the natural into the spiritual man—souls are reached, and brought into living membership with the very Body of Christ—His Church. The true theocracy is perpetuated because through instrumentalities in concord with eternal principles.

CARLOS A. BUTLER.

CANON OF THE EPISCOPATE.

BISHOPS Vail and Clarkson have ably called attention to the confused condition of the canons bearing upon the Episcopate, and have pointed out and suggested several necessary changes.

Having had occasion to study these canons very closely, and having had considerable correspondence concerning them, I have not only noticed the faults mentioned by the above writers, but have observed, and have had suggested to me, other faults, two or three of which I shall here briefly mention.

First: Can an *assistant* bishop resign? If so, *what* does he resign? He cannot resign under canon 15, for the reason that *he* has no *jurisdiction* to resign. His position in the diocese is that of an assistant, with right of *succession*, indeed, and performing only such duties as may be assigned to him by the bishop. He cannot resign his office, and if he were disposed to resign his right of succession (for which there is no provision) and could have his resignation accepted, it may fairly be asked if he would not have a right to re-election to a diocese, or to a missionary jurisdiction, and to a seat and vote in the House of Bishops. Canon 15, section 16, clause 4, whether including a *missionary* jurisdiction or not, expressly refers to a jurisdiction, which the assistant bishop never had, and therefore could not resign. Hence, if this clause is to be strictly interpreted, without reference to the spirit and intent of the law, as it is largely claimed that it should be, then its misqualifying effect cannot touch an assistant bishop re-

signed. There are many causes that may be imagined why an assistant should wish to resign. For example, suppose the bishop should refuse to assign him any duties at all. Or suppose an irreconcilable difference to exist between the bishops. Again, the canon is very explicit as to the resignation of a diocesan bishop, and in defining the penalties for such resignation. But if a strict application of the word "diocese," in clause 4, be insisted on, if this word, and not "jurisdiction," is the disqualifying word, so to speak, as several eminent gentlemen claim, then I think we must at once admit that a resigned diocesan bishop is eligible to election to a *missionary* jurisdiction. It is not impossible to imagine causes why a hale and hearty bishop should desire to resign his diocese, as in the case of Bishop Chase. He may not then be elected to another *diocese*, but, if the General Convention saw fit, there is nothing to prevent him from being elected to a missionary jurisdiction.

Finally, if a resigned diocesan bishop can be elected to a *missionary* jurisdiction, it must be conceded that he becomes a "missionary bishop," as the term is used in the canons, and if a "missionary bishop," then he becomes invested with the rights and privileges that belong to the office under our laws. What follows? He is restored to his seat and vote in the House of Bishops, and, as a "missionary bishop," is entitled to election to a diocese. Manifestly this would be an evasion of the penalties inflicted upon his resignation of the diocese. And yet such a thing is possible. I do not think this can be considered a strained interpretation of the canon *if* the spirit and intent of the law is ignored. Penal enactments, we are told, must be strictly interpreted. If so, then the resignation of a "diocese" prevents election to "any diocese now in union, or which may be hereafter admitted into union with this Church," but it does not prevent election to a *missionary* jurisdiction, which may fairly be conceded to be a possible result under

the present canon. I say that this is a possible result if the spirit and intent of the law be ignored. But if respect be had to those, and if the word "jurisdiction" in clause 4 be admitted to be the governing word, as very many eminent prelates of the Church hold, there then can be no confusion resulting. But these and other points plainly suggest the necessity of a revision of our canon law bearing upon the Episcopate. I have no doubt, and think I can say, that this whole question will receive its proper consideration at the next General Convention.

In fact, one may ask if the time has not come again when the whole digest should be revised.

MELVILLE M. MOORE.

RECENT LITERATURE.

Development of English Literature and Language.
By A. H. Welsh, A. M., Member of Victoria Institute. The Philosophical Society of Great Britain.
Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

These two volumes indicate a prodigious amount of labor, and can be justly called a great work. The conception of it, in its breadth and detail, shows philosophic insight, while its method and treatment prove the judgment, taste and extensive reading of the author.

The work has met with unfriendly criticism in some quarters, not because of intrinsic defects, either as to facts or reasoning, or because of a deficiency of skill, thought or culture, but on the ground of *alleged* plagiarism. We shall enter upon no controversy as to the justice of the charge. While we do not deny some marked traces of minute familiarity with Taine, we, yet, very frankly say that the work is much superior to that of the French author. It can be utilized with more safety and facility by the student or general reader. His design was to show the historic growth of English literature, and, at the same time, to make plain the influence of the national life in giving form and expression to its texture. We think he has accomplished his aim with eminent success, and in a manner as original as it is satisfactory. Enthusiasm is one of his striking qualities, and, by his vivid description, fullness of information and analytic power, he *imparts* that enthusiasm and holds the attention and interest of the reader captive.

His views on the origin and characteristic growth of American literature are confirmed by common sense and the philosophy of the human mind. It necessarily stands in organic relation to English literature. Chaucer and Emerson are the births of a common parent. Neither national pride nor patriotism is honored by an attempted severance of the vital connection. Apart from the heritage of blood and brains, and accumulated mental riches transmitted from the period of "Beowulf" to Carlyle, our literature, as distinctively American, would possess all the imbecility of premature birth, with little hope of a maturity of beauty and vigorous life.

We commend these volumes as a valuable thesaurus of all that pertains to the subject of English literature. In all the qualities of literary workmanship they speak for themselves, and as to their scholarly accuracy and worth, they have the endorsement of such names as Edwin P. Whipple, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Edmund Clarence Stedman.

Essays: Classical, Modern. By F. W. H. Myers. In two volumes. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Myers is one of the foremost of living English essayists, and is in some respects a strong and original writer. He cannot be passed by on the part of those who follow the lead of modern literature. He is one on whom the classics have had their full share of influence, and yet one who is thoroughly possessed of the modern spirit. These two elements are contending for the mastery in a somewhat original mind, and the result is that, in the field of pure literature, Mr. Myers is one of the most symptomatic of living writers. He does in prose what Arthur Hugh Clough did in poetry; he feels the pulse of present thought. It is not meant by this that he simply gives a rehash of what others have written; his criticisms are genuine, fresh, independent, and abound in creative ideas; they are his

own opinions, and gain their value on this account. The older English essayists had a mannerism of their own, as Jeffery, Carlyle, Macaulay, but Mr. Myers in no sense copies them. His style, indeed, might be improved, but his sense is always superior, even to a tolerably good style. It is hard to say in which field he excels—the ancient or modern. The classical essays are only three, and cover the “Greek Oracles,” “Virgil” and “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.” The modern essays are devoted to “Giuseppi Mazzini,” “George Sand,” “Victor Hugo,” Ernest Renan,” “George Eliot,” “Arthur Penrhyn Stanley,” and to essays on “Archbishop Trench’s Poem,” “A New Eirenicon” reviewing Prof. Seelig’s *Natural Religion* and “Rossetti and the Religion of Beauty.” None of these papers are great, but there is an infinite deal of wise and refined thought packed away in them. Mr. Myers usually writes from competent knowledge, and one may believe in his thorough honesty. Hence, these essays, especially those on classical subjects, may be read as expressing the best thought of the day on art, poetry, literature, and the moral issues of truth. Mr. Myers has strong sympathy with the agnostics, though at every step, in dealing with religious truth, he betrays the fostering care of his spiritual mother, the Church of England. What charms in these essays is their atmosphere. Nothing has been written upon Rossetti which is more appreciative. Virgil has never found a more congenial interpreter; the Greek Oracles, under his hand, have a certain message to mankind, and Prof. Seelig finds in him the best English reader of his much misunderstood work. There is enough in these essays for a lengthy criticism, but the best use one can make of them is to read them critically and thoughtfully, and compare the opinions expressed by Mr. Myers with one’s own experience in life, literature and religion. The essays themselves are likely to live.

Life of Bishop Wilberforce: with selections from

his Diary and Correspondence. By A. R. Ashwell and Reginald G. Wilberforce. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This volume is necessarily unsatisfactory. Bishop Wilberforce was very near being the prime human force in the Church of England during nearly forty years of his life, and an abridged *memoir* of such a man is much like an abridged Bible. You like it, but after all, you want the original and entire story. In due time Mr. Murray's three volume edition will be accessible in a cheaper form; but, meanwhile, the American edition, though without an index, will have to do duty for what most people will know about the greatest English Bishop since the Reformation. The scissors have been judiciously used and the volume is so reduced in price that, with all its manifest defects, it is a boon to American Churchmen to have the story in any accessible form. Who Bishop Wilberforce was, what he did, how he did it, is now well understood among intelligent readers. The compilers of his *memoir* have acted wisely in giving his own words to the public. During his lifetime he readily incurred the charge of insincerity because he was an attractive and many-sided man. The charge could only be refuted by baring his inner life to the light of day. In defense of this course, his son quotes the approval of Archbishop Tait, between whom and Bishop Wilberforce there existed an intimate and honorable friendship, and also the consent of the persons who had the best right to feel aggrieved because they found themselves impaled for their true character in the Bishop's private diary. The biography had to be thus free and open in its character or it could be nothing adequate to the demands of the case, and the outcry against his son's course, on examination, seems to have been without any adequate foundation. He simply did what Boswell did in his *Life of Dr. Johnson* and Mr. Froude has done in his *Carlyle's Life and Letters*. He could not intelligently have done anything else. The value of this

biography is twofold. It gives the analysis of a man who visibly changed the working aspects of the Church of England for his generation; it also furnishes one with fresh and true insight into the Church of England for that period. It is the only adequate biography of a great Churchman that has been written in modern times. Wilberforce, Surrey, Newman, Manning, W. G. Ward, Keble, Maurice, Bunsen, Rowland Williams, Thirlwall—when the lives of these men are fully written, what remains to be known of the English Church during the great revival of the last half century? These men were the English Church, so to speak, while they lived or remained in it. Bishop Wilberforce's *Memoirs* shows how the yet remaining biographies should be written.

George Sand. By Bertha Thomas. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

It is but just that the name of George Sand, which has so long been the synonym for all that unsexed a woman, should occupy a prominent place among the famous women of the century. The third of the series, it will introduce to many readers a new source of pleasure, in opening a hitherto forbidden field to all but the exceptionally bold. The book opens with a rapid glance at the circumstances of both education and early marriage, and through them traces the causes influencing the life, and, to a great extent, the peculiar genius of the writer. Her controlling idea was an escape from the artificial restraints, which she believed crippled and dwarfed the characters of those around her. In the sketch here given, the grave faults of her career are not condoned; but in a peculiarly appreciative analysis, the mixed motives governing such a life are very ably stated. Her views on the marriage system of France, her political relations and acquaintance with the leading men of her time are fully described, including a delicately guarded estimate of her relations with De Musset and Chopin. It is probable that many who read this

sketch will be led to enjoy and estimate for themselves the writings of a woman, who, with George Eliot, has left the greatest impress, not only in her own land, but in England and America, of any novelist of her day.

Memoirs of John Adams Dix. Compiled by his son, Morgan Dix. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Gen. Dix came just a shade or two short of being a great popular leader; in fact, he was a great leader without popularity, or, rather, he was greater in the field of practical affairs than in that of constructive statesmanship. His early military training fitted him rather to control than to guide men. This is not saying that his life did not deserve all the attention which his son has bestowed upon it, neither is it limiting his position beyond its visible limitations in actual life. It is only expressing a general fact. He combined the soldier and the civilian in a rare degree. He was in public life during some sixty of his eighty years. "He was one of those who formed the link between the period of the Revolution and that of the final and perpetual consolidation of the American Union," and was almost the first to determine what constituted disloyalty to the country in the late civil war. He was essentially the man of action, not the thinker, the man of authority, not the scholar, and yet in thought and scholarship he was only second in rank, because he was not quite first. Dr. Dix seems to be sensible of this and has written an essentially political biography. This was entirely fitting and he has executed his task with singular modesty and good sense, except where he apologizes for his father's course with reference to the emancipation of the slaves, where no apology can atone for a political blunder. The truth is, that Gen. Dix was without the prescience which marks the statesman. Webster instinctively stood by the integrity of the nation, because he felt that the nation was greater than any of its individual elements. Gen. Dix was as patriotic

and loyal as ever Webster was, but he did not see things with the same comprehensive grasp of the situation. The personal element in this biography is supplemented by an exhibition of Gen. Dix's political services, and by showing how his career was intertwined with the general life of the day. Dr. Dix has told this story with simplicity and skill, and has made a book which is invaluable to the political student of the last fifty years. His father, though a New Englander by birth, was educated chiefly in Canada and New York, and bore little trace of his Puritan origin. He became a Churchman in early life, and was connected by marriage and political and professional associations with the foremost families in New York. While this threw him out of the popular current, it did not remove him from sympathy with the people or prevent a true regard for their interests. He was the man who was always called in to save the state or the country at a critical moment, and the story of his career illustrates traits of character which are only found in the foremost civilians among a great people. Dr. Dix has built a noble monument for a noble life, in which integrity and patriotism contended for the mastery of honored rivals.

Epochs in Church History and other Essays. By the Rev. E. A. Washburn, D.D. Edited by the Rev. C. C. Tiffany. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

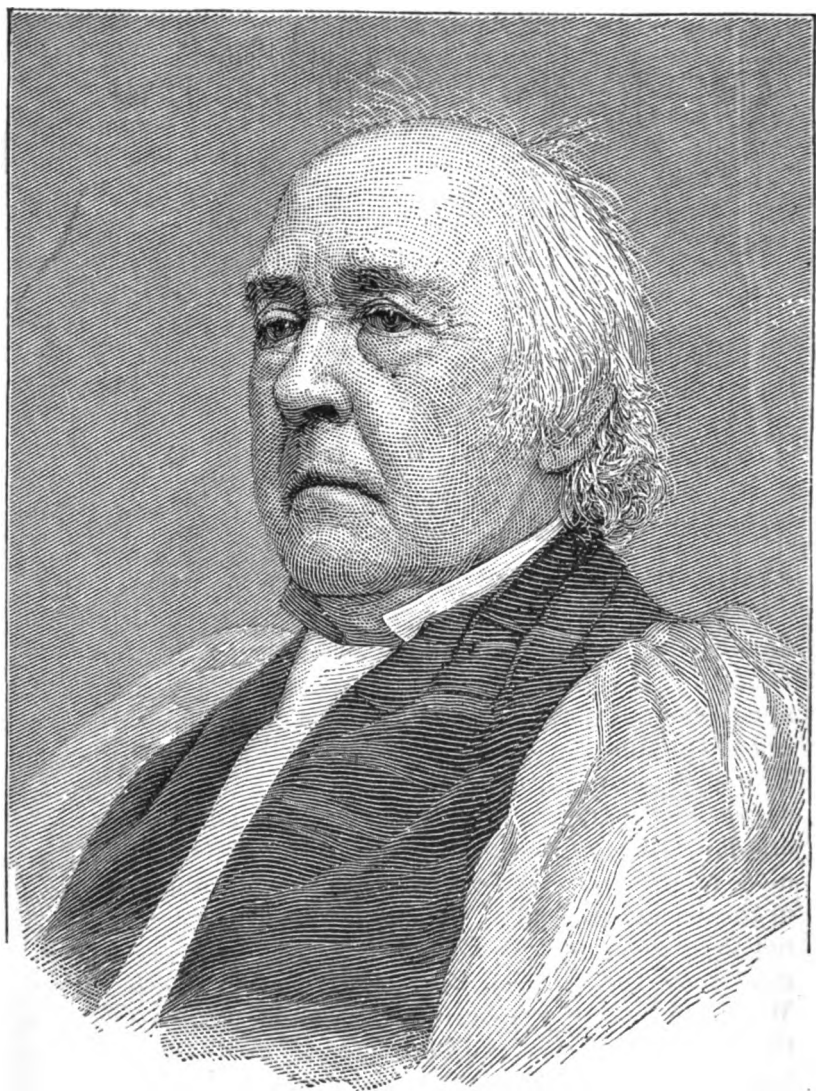
The fact is gaining slow recognition, that in the death of Dr. Washburn the American Church lost, perhaps, its foremost man in the realm of thought and scholarship. He stood upon the high plane of the most advanced and best educated minds, and nothing in the thought and movement of the age was foreign to him. He was a representative man, and his writing, even if it may not have the finish which his fine taste demanded, is so important that it ought not to be much longer kept in manuscript. His sermons were able, but the sermon did not give room enough for his thought. Dr. Washburn was specially

interested in history and the interpretation of the Bible, and only the ethical results of his study could find their way into his short sermons. Such essays as are printed in this volume, being the genuine and free expression of his thoughts, are a true measure of his ability and gifts. They comprise his lectures on Church history and several occasional essays, as those on Richard Hooker, on Biblical Criticism, on the Study of the Scriptures, on the Christian Faith and Theology, on Judaism and Christianity, and on a Personal Resurrection and Modern Physical Science. Within this range of subjects, Dr. Washburn was peculiarly at home, and his best thought is here expressed in a clear, glowing and weighty style, in which the whole man is brought into contact with his readers. The paragraph on Richard Hooker is masterly for the way in which the great English Churchman is set forth in relation to his own times. The essay on Biblical Criticism gives both sanction and forward push to the study of the Bible, because it plainly lays down the canons by which such work is to be done. It will be found that this volume is full of the seminal principles which guided Dr. Washburn's thinking, and that, to a great extent, his thinking and teaching is that by which the Church is to enter upon the work of guiding public opinion in this country. It would be necessary to take unusual space to subject this volume to the proper amount of criticism, because in its general trend its positions are undoubtedly right, and the objections lie against special points only. But waiving these minute differences, it must be confessed that since Dr. Mahan's writings were collected, no such volume as these essays has come from the pen of an American Churchman.

More Words about the Bible. By James I. Bush. New York: John W. Lovell Company. *The Question of the Day: What is the Bible?* By Thomas Richey, D.D. New York: James Pott.

These two works, written respectively by a Broad

and a High Churchman, notably illustrate that diversity of opinion with reference to the Sacred Writings which the Church allows. The Rev. Mr. Bush publishes his sermons confessedly in the conviction that Dr. R. Heber Newton has met with signal ability a great and pressing want for popular instruction, and that the day is coming when censure will be silenced by grateful acknowledgment of his timely service to those who desire to read the Bible intelligently. Dr. Richey contributes a statement of facts about the Bible, its object, and the proper way to read it, which supplements Dr. Newton's volume on the *Uses of the Bible*, and contains the information that ought to have been included in that work to correct its one-sidedness. Mr. Bush and Dr. Richey are complementary to one another. Mr. Bush presents the right method of looking at Scripture as a whole; Dr. Richey in a scholarly way corrects some of the fallacies of modern criticism, and furnishes the right key to the reading of the Bible. Mr. Bush freely admits that there is much in the Bible that is of no use whatever on the mere casual and careless reading of it, much at which one stumbles if reading in a curious and critical spirit, but holds that the wiser way is to study the meaning of the words of Scripture and inquire if there be not some truths in them which we can take to ourselves. His five sermons were the general subject of present thought about the Bible rather than its critical examination, and culminate, as in the fifth and last discourses, in a statement of the Incarnation. They are chiefly valuable as an evidence of the way in which Broad Churchmen keep to the integrity of the faith. Dr. Richey's little book, in like manner, is useful in showing how the Church has taught us to use the Bible and in doing away with some of the Protestant errors concerning its interpretation. Both books are really valuable, as far as they go.



Wm. K. W.

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BISHOP PINKNEY.

THE Rt. Rev. William Pinkney, D. D., LL. D., fell asleep in Christ on the morning of the 4th day of July, 1883. He was the fifth Bishop of the Diocese of Maryland, having been consecrated Assistant Bishop on the 6th day of October, 1870, succeeding to the full charge of the Diocese at the death of Bishop Whittingham, October the 17th, 1879. Brief as was his Episcopate, few men have filled the high and holy office of Bishop in the Church of God with more fidelity to conscience, or with greater diligence in the discharge of duty. "A workman that needeth not to be ashamed," he fell in the midst of labors "a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith." William Pinkney was born in Annapolis, Md., April the 17th, 1810. His father belonged to an illustrious family. His grandfather sprung from one of the most respectable and ancient families of Britain, and the Bishop always pointed with pride to the heroism and courage of his ancestors during the Revolutionary struggle for American independence. Writing



of his grandfather's mistaken fidelity to the English rule, because he had taken the oath as a subject of the British Crown, he says: "He was a hero in spirit, a man of indomitable moral courage, and the highest moral integrity, who never sacrificed conscience to expediency, and never yielded up its dictates but to clear convictions of duty. . . . Even those who may be disposed to censure his adherence to the oath he had taken must admire the sterling and heroic spirit he displayed in sacrificing his ease, his comfort and his fortune to what he believed to be his duty." This scrap of family history briefly but pointedly illustrates the character of an ancestry that gave to our country the great and honored legalist and statesman, William Pinkney, to whom the high tribute was paid: "His *opinions* had almost acquired the authority of judicial decisions;" and which also gave to the Church another William Pinkney, of whom it may be justly said that he was in many things the equal of his illustrious relative. He had early learned the value of time, and the worth of study. While yet a mere lad he had entered S. John's College, Annapolis, and with such compeers as the late Dr. John H. Alexander of Baltimore, famous as a scientist, and one of the ripest scholars of his day, young Pinkney distinguished himself studying beside two other such brilliant competitors; it was found at their graduation that the Faculty could not award the honors to any one of the four, all being worthy to receive alike each and every prize offered by the Institution. In early manhood, the profession of the Law had tempted his ambition, and he had often said it had never lost its fascinating power over his mind and heart. So young in years, being only seventeen when graduating from college, he sought wider opportunities for study at Princeton, and there filled his mind with those grand principles which ever afterwards characterized his parochial ministry and his episcopate. A strict construction of the Law and obedience to it, was one of the marked

features of his private and official life. How he came to change his purpose of studying for the Bar may be traced to the deeply religious tendency of his nature, which made him yearn to plead for souls. He only took a higher grade in the same calling, to plead before the Judge of the whole Earth. His mind grasped with quick discrimination the great fundamentals of truth.

He began reading theology with avidity, and wisely selected such expounders of the Gospel as Donn and Beveridge and South, who he admired as among the greatest champions of our English Christianity. Dr. George McIlhenney was his Mentor in theological study, but it was largely due to his own indefatigable research and mental labor that he mastered the elements of that Christian science which he afterwards applied with such a grand success. He was ordained Deacon by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Stone in 1835, and immediately succeeded his faithful Mentor, the Rev. Dr. Geo. McIlhenney, in the charge of S. Andrew's Parish, Somerset County, Md. He continued here about one year, when, having been advanced to the Priesthood, he was called to the parish of what was then known as "Addison Chapel Parish," embracing a large portion of Prince George County, Md. Here he entered upon a long and very eventful pastorate of over seventeen years. During this period he lived much of his time in the saddle and traveled hundreds of miles on horseback, visiting nearly every home in the county in which his parish was located, often being called to adjacent counties to minister to the sick and dying where there was no one else to administer the sacraments in these remote and sparsely settled regions. It was no unusual thing, on such occasions, for the young rector to ride twenty or thirty miles in one day, and then to sit up and nurse the sick throughout the weary hours of the night, taking rest only when, on the morrow, he returned to his home, napping on his horse by the way. This was the daily and yearly

experience of the early ministry of Bishop Pinkney, and, but for the love with which he labored for his people, and the simple habits of his consecrated life, he would have been drawn into larger spheres of usefulness. His brilliant mind was far from being unappreciated in his comparatively obscure work. His light shone far beyond the limits of his rural charge; many of the best citizens of the Nation's capital frequently found their way into the country to hear the eloquent young divine, and it was determined that, if it was possible to secure him in Washington, he should be induced to make a change. Nothing, however, was more distasteful to the loyal heart of Bishop Pinkney than change. He loved places and people around which clustered associations and memories with a devotion that was chivalric. Old localities and old friends made up the romance and poetry of his heart. Like his great and illustrious uncle, he was loyal in the love he bore his own native State. Maryland was to him the synonym for everything that was lofty in patriotism and famous in letters. He loved his native land, but his native State was to him like his own mother's arms. On her bosom were pillowed his own sleeping sires. To him her soil was sacred, mingling, as it did, with the dust of his best loved. He never left his State for other fields of labor that were open to him; he refused all calls to distant parishes, and, in the quiet of his country home, in the freedom of his country life, he had devoted himself, body and soul, to the service of his Master.

After repeated and urgent solicitations from Churchmen in Washington, and letters from Bishop Whittingham, indicating that it was his duty to go, he, at length, yielded a reluctant consent to take the proffered Rectorship of the Church of the Ascension, then vacant, and which had for some time prior to his call, been battling for existence. The change was indeed a great one and involved singular responsibilities. As he often said afterwards, he entered

upon his new relations with the feeling that it was a forlorn hope. Coming from his quiet retreat in the country, to the stir and excitement of the gay capital, might have turned many an older head than his, but, with the increased anxieties of his new position, and the conscious need of careful and judicious handling, the zealous Rector assumed full charge of his work, at a time in the history of the Parish, when a few mistakes would have consigned it to certain ruin. He met the issue with firmness and gentleness, he united all the factions, and joined the hands of all the hinderers so almost imperceptibly, that, before a year of his ministry in his new Parish had closed, everybody not only trusted him, but loved him. It is not mere praise to say that no man was ever more loved in his work and ministry than was Bishop Pinkney. Speak of him where you will in his Diocese and his name at once evokes a word of affection and of praise. When called to the high office of Bishop, nothing would satisfy his Parishioners but a continued, even though provisional rectorship, as it was believed that nothing would save the Church, in which he had ministered so long and so faithfully, from financial embarrassment, but the name and official character of their old Rector. Having been twice enlarged during his rectorship the old Church was at length torn down and a new edifice erected in a more convenient part of the Parish. Beautiful and majestic as was the new Ascension, true to his simpler tastes, the Rector's heart was often found sighing over the ruins of the old Church, and it was a great burden for him to see the children of his constant prayers, laboring with what he felt to be the unnecessary burden of an unpaid for Church. He often wondered what would be the end of the struggle. Faithfully supported by his friend and associate in the rectorship of the Ascension, the Rev. Jno. H. Elliott, S. T. D., Bishop Pinkney having stipulated to give the congregation "his rests," and to go to them when not otherwise engaged in the discharge

of Episcopal duty, they at once yielded to the oversight of their new Rector, who, by his own high character as a man and pastor, has at length won the confidence and affection of the whole flock, which fulfilled the earnest prayer of the Bishop in their behalf. In such a cursory sketch as this, of the life and work of Bishop Pinkney, only a passing glance can be taken of the many sided virtues that make up the character of the man. He clung with intense loyalty to the heritage of his Faith. He was a Churchman without any explanatory clause to indicate high, low, broad or narrow. He hated party lines. He stood by the Prayer Book as it is, and he believed with all his heart in the Divine commission of the Church in which he served. He felt that he was a Bishop in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and in this mighty conviction he undertook the Episcopal office. How often he recognized his own unworthiness none knew better than his personal and intimate friends; but there never was a moment of distrust in the authority of his commission, or of the rights secured to him by the great Head of the Church. On Him alone he leaned, and in His strength alone he acted. This it was that made him a true Bishop. It may not be without significance, also, that with the exception of Bishop Stone, Bishop Pinkney was the only other Bishop in the history of the Episcopate of Maryland, who, being nominated, received nearly a unanimous election of the entire convention. It had long been known that Bishop Whittingham regarded Dr. Pinkney of Washington as among the fittest of the clergy of the Diocese to fill the contemplated office of assistant Bishop. He had won the confidence and respect of his brethren as a man wise in counsel and firm in principles. A striking example of unselfish Christian devotion, and of sublime self-surrender to duty he lived and died the embodiment of a Christian Priest and Bishop, and the secret of it, was in the fact, that he loved his work and all the flock over which God had called

him to be an overseer. His warm heart was entirely emptied of self, and was filled with thoughtful solicitude for others.

With few wants and inexpensive tastes, so far as he himself was concerned, he devised generous things for his brethren. If he could make others happy he was content to stand in the background and enjoy quietly, but fully the conscious pleasures he had helped to furnish. How many country rectories will miss gifts that came unexpectedly to their doors? He loved to give. He was always giving, and his happy smile and word of childlike gratitude in response to acknowledgements from his brethren, was a precious commentary on the text, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." He was truly a father to all his spiritual children. But he was the bold and fearless Bishop, also. As gentle as a child he was as brave as a hero. He stood immovable on the rock of duty. He needs not one word of apology for any of his official acts. He asked nothing of the sort from any quarter. He deserves nothing of the sort from any friend. What he did he did openly and fearlessly in the strength of his consecrated convictions. Of all things, he despised insincerity, and nothing would rouse him to a spirit of righteous indignation quicker than to question the integrity of his motives, or the independence of his responsible acts; and one who is able to judge impartially, said of him, that in every case where he sought legal advice it was found that the bishop's opinions needed little if any correction. He always first formed his own plans, and then made sure of his position by careful study. Everything that came from his heart was tempered in the white heat of godly love. His pure soul was aflame with the love of God. He dwelt in love and God dwelt in him, and therein was he made perfect in love. Not only in this respect was he like S. John among the apostles of the Church, but in his lofty estimate of the Gospel he preached. He leaned always upon the bosom of his

Lord in childlike love ; but who will forget the presence of Bishop Pinkney, when he proclaimed the terrors of the law and persuaded sinners to repent and live ? If there is another of the holy men of the gospel whom he resembled, it was S. Barnabas, "the son of consolation." His missionary zeal was consuming ; to spread the comfortable Gospel of Jesus Christ abroad, was the grand ambition of his ministry ; and nothing so much troubled his heart as his limited and often hindered ability to do more for the missionary cause of the Church. In his own Diocese he was head and front in all missionary enterprises, and in his latest thoughts he was contemplating what he could do to increase the usefulness and efficiency of the Diocesan Committee of Missions.

Bishop Pinkney was a Preacher of marked ability. Having a poetic imagination his style was graphic and exceedingly chaste. His use of words evinced a careful and thoughtful preparation of his subjects. His sermons were full of the unction of the Holy Spirit. He lived as he taught others to live and that gave to his preaching a wonderful vitality.

His voice, which had remained remarkably unimpaired by age, was full of sympathy, and this, together with a richly stored mind, gave to his sermons a fascination which invariably gained for him an attentive and interested audience.

His boldness in the pulpit was not obtrusive or insinuating, but he spoke "as one having authority" and as one who, in the exercise of his office, was "no respecter of persons." In a sermon once preached to a *wealthy* congregation, whose decaying church edifice vainly pleaded for restoration, he said, among other strong words against the penurious spirit of the age:

But the time is not come [to build] say some. Are you quite satisfied that the logic of this reasoning is sound or the faith of it trustworthy ? Why is not this the time ? Is it because you have not the means ? Just think of it. * * * * * Is it a time to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste ? For look—the very elements have hung out a banner over you, a banner of distress, from which the very name of the church is obliterated. I

this house is good enough for God, and you and I say it is; if we meet the proposition to go to the Quarries and dig stones and build, with the cold denial of our helping hand, where shall an architect be found who can so narrow down his genius as to design a building sufficiently mean for us to inhabit? The temples God built were magnificent. He made the world beautiful in its place. Heaven is beautiful, transcendantly rich in all that constitutes wealth of adornment. He charged the Jews with a great sin against Him, in looking every man to his own house while the house of the Lord was neglected. And will it be gravely argued that we are less criminal who are contented to worship Him in a house neglected as no private dwelling of ours is.

A sermon ringing with such sentences as these—like sparks flying from the anvil of the preacher's heart on which his quick thought was beating out the iron of a great resolve, soon quickened into activity the languid energies of that parish and in no long time after a beautiful church edifice was raised to the honor and glory of God, and became a witness to the Bishop's faithful and fearless presentation of the truth. Whoever saw Bishop Pinkney preaching cannot soon forget the man or his message. Earnest and energetic in manner, with impressive gestures marking the emphatic passages of thought, his keen eye searching the listener's very soul, one could almost imagine an apostle of the early Church speaking for the integrity and glory of the Christian faith. Frequently he would leave his manuscript and going nearer to the congregation he would seem all aflame with newly kindled emotions while the congregation, at such times, would eagerly bend forward, lest a word should escape them. It was then that his rich voice fell like a strain of melody on the ear, and the light of his innermost spirit fell upon the finest gold of his intellect. It is to be regretted that some of these impromptu thoughts were not written down at the time for preservation.

Bishop Pinkney was not only faithful in the pulpit, but he preached by the wayside. He was often seen surrounded by a delighted group of workmen, to whom he kindly and judiciously preached "a little sermon," as he called it. He could use satire with

the best possible humor and with the most consummate skill. On one occasion he was instrumental in the building of a rectory by one of his incomparable passes of genuine wit. Some ladies were showing him a fine new house and grounds in a parish whose rector lived in "his own *hired* house;" he viewed the beautiful estate for a time in silence, and then, with a sudden change of countenance and in a woful tone of voice, he riveted the attention of his friends with a pathetic picture of the long disused rectory; through whose broken roof the weary, faithful pastor, lying upon his humble cot, might "look out on the sky-palace and count the stars in its pavement of blue." It is unnecessary to add that the confused listeners soon went to work and made a comfortable home for their too much neglected pastor. On another occasion, while riding in a street car, he met a gentleman whom he knew to be a vestryman of a certain parish, whose church had fallen into disuse, and was closed because of some misconceived notion of poverty. The Bishop had made several vain attempts to hold a service there, but excuses followed each appeal; the present occasion seemed providential. The gentleman in the horse car was taking a new lamp home with him. When the Bishop sat down he fixed his eyes on this lamp and looked in silence, first at the lamp and then at the man who held it, until seeing a manifest confusion overspreading the gentleman's countenance, the Bishop quietly remarked, "Excuse me, but I am deeply concerned to know what that is you hold in your hand." The gentleman, looking more puzzled than ever, answered curiously, "Why, sir, don't you see, it is a lamp?" "Oh," said the Bishop, "a symbolic lamp I suppose?" "A what?" inquired the astonished vestryman.

"A symbolic lamp," the Bishop replied. "You certainly remember a company of foolish virgins, who went out once to meet the bridegroom—who took lamps but took no oil with them. Now as you

are a vestryman of —— Church, which has been closed for so long a season, and where I have vainly tried to hold a service, I thought that perhaps you were carrying that lamp for the vestry as a symbol." It may be surmised that it did not take that vestryman long to comprehend the Bishop's meaning, and that before the simile was completed, he profusely and honestly apologized to the Bishop, and at once set to work to open the neglected church, and also to provide for regular services in it.

Thus he tempered his reproofs with gentleness and loving kindness. A lady once remarked, sententiously, that it made her almost willing to sin again that she might receive the Bishop's repeated admonitions, so sweetly worded and so affectionately administered. He could be aroused to severity, but it was not often possible. His happy disposition made him rather shun than seek the occasion of it, yet while he shrunk from being led to severe measures, he never shirked responsibility in order to seem kind. His bold spirit went always to the front when the necessity called for it, and one of the occasions that always caused the Bishop to speak with energy and warmth was when any one spoke lightly of the character of another. He held the honor of a man to be as sacred as the honor of a woman. Both were God's children. He was a great lover of manliness and courage. In telling over some of the heroic deeds of the late war, his eye would kindle with new lustre, as he seemed to catch the spirit of the narrative. Had he been a soldier, he would have led armies to victory. It was natural that he should become interested in legal matters, also. Often when not pressed too hard in the line of duty, he would find his way to the court room and listen with intense interest to the case on trial; scanning the testimony with such critical accuracy that when giving his estimate of the case in private conversations afterward, it frequently happened that judgment followed precisely as he predicted. The remark has often been

made that the bar lost a "bright and particular star" when Bishop Pinkney entered the ministry of the Church.

A devoted patron of education he encouraged competition in every department of college or school life. Six hundred dollars would not probably cover the Bishop's annual expenditure of money for medals alone. "The Bishop's Medal" was always costly and beautiful, and proud indeed was that youth who was successful in obtaining it.

Bishop Pinkney did not aspire to be an author, but in the midst of a very busy life he published a biography of his illustrious uncle, William Pinkney, and several unpretentious volumes of poetry—among which "Songs for the Seasons" and "Ernest Murray" may be especially noticed. Many of his sermons have been printed in pamphlet form, and only once, I believe, did he enter the field of controversy and then, much against his inclination; but his "letter" in answer to a certain clergyman whom he thought to be unduly prejudicing the minds of young theological students in a lecture delivered before them in 1861, entitled "*The Road to Rome*," is conclusive as defining his own views of Churchmanship and as settling beyond dispute his theological tendency. He published many occasional poems for his own private circle of friends, and such others as cared to enjoy them. He wrote and published a most affectionate tribute to the memory of his brother Dr. Ninian Pinkney, U. S. N., between whom and himself there existed the most devoted attachment. Among the last things he gave to the press was his remarkable letter in defence of the memory of his uncle, and which led to a friendship between the Bishop and the celebrated jurist and orator, Charles O'Conner, which lasted unbroken until the Bishop's death. It was indeed no little satisfaction to the Protestant Bishop to enjoy the heart and home of so distinguished a Roman Catholic layman.

It is well known how attached the Bishop was to

his almost life-long friend W. W. Corcoran, Esq., of Washington. This venerable philanthropist and good steward of the riches of this world counted Bishop Pinkney his "best friend." When the Bishop's death was announced to him he exclaimed, amid tears and heavy sighs "O, I have lost my best friend on earth—my best friend indeed." Many, to-day, echo these words of gratitude and affection, and many will join Mr. Corcoran in building not only the marble monument perhaps, but a monument of love over the grave of our departed father in more truly consecrated lives, and in a more devoted labor for the Church he loved.

He is gone from us to the other home he loved better. God took him at his word, "to die in the work." As a friend has written, "Age had not dimmed his eye, nor dread paralysis abated his natural vigor, but God, our Father, who had appointed him to be an apostle, took him gently from his post of duty to his blessed rest." He had preached the very night before his death. He grew eloquent, we are told, with heavenly themes, and, in closing he seemed to bespeak his own approaching end and to anticipate the glory.

Struck from the heart harp of his own dear life, the echoing symphony of heavenly faith will never lose its sweetness to our listening ear; but we shall know the tone and the voice once more, when passing through the valley of the shadows in the night of death we meet in the light and morning of eternal day, on the tuneful hills of Zion.

How shall we better close our loving task than in the Bishop's own sweet words of faith:

"So life is. To-day brilliant and full of the exultancy of hope. To-morrow hushed in silence, only as we view it in the golden glory of the life to come."

We may not walk together side by side,
As in those bright and happy days of yore;
And yet I feel that thou art with me, still,
Not lost to earth, but only gone before.

CHARLES D. ANDREWS.

THE LEGAL ENFORCEMENT OF CONFORMITY TO DOCTRINE AND TO RITUAL.

A PATIENT study of the judgments of the ecclesiastical courts in England, and a careful consideration of some efforts that have been made in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, towards the obtaining of a prompt, easy and thorough method of enforcing conformity to whatever may happen to be orthodoxy at any given time, have led me to think that it may be timely to submit to the consideration of American Churchmen a calm and dispassionate statement of the essential limitations upon, and the difficulties necessarily inherent in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline with regard to doctrine and ritual.

It is obviously just, that, as a perquisite to the penal enforcement of any law, there should be a precise definition of the persons, who are to be held legally responsible for disobedience, the terms of the law which is to be obeyed, and the procedure by which disobedience is to be punished.

These points having been pre-determined, there remains the grave question as to the advisability of attempting to enforce obedience by penal procedure.

I.

In the first place, therefore, I argue, that the clergy are, and the laity are not, legally liable to punishment for heterodox doctrine and unauthorized ritual. The Church has never recognized the amenability of laymen to ecclesiastical censure, save by the rubric and the canons enacted in conformity

thereto, which prescribe that, a layman, known by the minister "to be an open and notorious evil liver or to have done any wrong to his neighbors by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended," may, in the discretion of the officiating minister, be repelled from the Holy Communion. The similar rubric in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England has been construed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to exclude the idea of repulsion for any cause other than those specified in the rubric, which obviously have no reference to heterodoxy in doctrine.¹ Nor can that aggregate of lay members, which constitutes the congregation, be held responsible for the doctrines that are preached from the pulpit, or for the rites and ceremonies that are observed in the services. The lay administration of the congregation is delegated to the vestry, and its ecclesiastical administration, including everything that pertains to the ordering of the service, is vested in the clergy.

The wardens and vestrymen are not ecclesiastical officers. If the congregation has not been incorporated, they are the agents for civil purposes of a voluntary association of laymen. If the congregation has been incorporated, they are the trustees of that body upon which the State has conferred the franchise of corporate succession for the purpose of acquiring and holding title to the congregational property. In neither case can they exercise any control over the congregational services.

There are some questions in ecclesiastical law, as to which opinions may reasonably differ, but this is not one of those questions. More than a century ago, Lord Stowell² said: The office of churchwarden is

¹ Jenkins vs. Cook, L. R. I. P. D. 80. The late Archbishop of Canterbury and the present Archbishop of York sat in the case and concurred in the judgment. The Minister had repelled the appellant because he had denied the personality of the Devil.

² Hutchins vs. Denziloe, 1 Hagg Const., 178.

of observation and complaint, but not of control with respect to Divine worship . . . if the minister introduce any irregularity into the service, they have no authority to interfere, but they may complain to the ordinary of his conduct.

In 1868, Sir Robert Phillimore held¹ that church-wardens could not lawfully remove ornaments which the minister had placed in the church. The Supreme Court of New Jersey has held,² that if the vestry lock the rector out of the church because they disapprove of his manner of administering the services they are liable to him in damages. In Pennsylvania, Mr. Justice Ludlow³ enjoined a vestry from dismissing a rector because they regarded him as heretical.

The same doctrine is laid down in a report⁴ made to the last General Convention, by a committee of which the Bishop of Pennsylvania was chairman, wherein it is said:

The wardens and vestry are not, and cannot lawfully or scripturally be, masters and rulers of the clergy, but they are auxiliary to the clergy as important adjuncts and aids in the work in which they have been set by the Holy Ghost.⁵

There cannot, in justice, be legal responsibility for inaction where there is no power to act. Therefore, as the correlative of the subjection of the congregations to punishment for ritual excess or deficiency, there must be an admission of the exercise of congregational discretion in action as to ritual, and such an admission would be inconsistent with the theory of our Church and fatal to its continued existence. The amenability of the clergy, not to their several congregations, but to Episcopal authority, and the ordering

¹ *Ritchings vs. Cordingley*, L. R., 3 A. & E., 118.

² *Lynd vs. Menzies*, 4 Vroom, 33, \$1,000 damages were recovered by the Rector.

³ *Batterson vs. Thompson*, 8 Phila., 251.

⁴ *Journal of the General Convention of 1880*, p. 456.

⁵ As the correlative rights and duties of rectors and vestries as to the services see, also, Rev. Mr. Baum's valuable treatise, page 176.

of the service, not at the will of the congregation, but in the clergyman's trained and intelligent discretion, exercised in obedience to the law of the Church and within the limits of her comprehensiveness, are alike essential to the maintenance of the unity of the Church.

Reasoning by exclusion, I come now to the clergy, who are responsible for the doctrines preached from the pulpit, and for the administration of the religious services, but they cannot be held responsible therefor either to their vestries, their congregations, or to conventions, diocesan or general. The report of the committee, before referred to, states the law on this point accurately and concisely:

Ecclesiastically, therefore, the Rector stands alone. There is no coördinate authority in his parish in matters spiritual pertaining to the cure of souls. In respect to certain temporal affairs, his right and authority are limited both by canons and charter.

The rector is responsible for the due discharge of his official duties and clerical conduct to the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese only; a fact thus stated in the Institution office when it charges the instituted minister to bear in mind that he is "accountable to the ecclesiastical authority of the Church here and to the Chief Bishop and Sovereign Judge of all hereafter;" and any complaint against a rector in reference to his teaching or ministering must be made to the Ordinary of the diocese.

The ritual canon, adopted by the General Convention in 1874, clearly expresses the judgment of the highest authority in this Church, to the effect that the minister alone is to be held responsible for the introduction of "ceremonies or practices not ordained or authorized in the Book of Common Prayer, and setting forth or symbolizing erroneous or doubtful doctrines," for that canon provides for an investigation by the Bishop and Standing Committee, and for an admonition to, and trial, not of the congregation, but of the offending minister.

II.

If, in times of excitement, a diocesan convention should happen to be in session, when, in any parish,

anything has been said or done, or is supposed to have been said or done, which bears, or which may be supposed to bear, a construction which the dominant party regards as heretical, it is probable that an effort will be made to secure a quasi-judicial decision under an abuse of legislative forms. To the party leaders such a course offers great temptations. The delay, trouble and possibly uncertain result of a trial can be avoided. The party whip can be cracked, and under its lash many a man may be coerced into affirming by his vote with the majority that which he would hesitate to declare under the individual responsibility of a judge. That which is, in many respects, a conviction can, in that manner, be obtained, without a definite statement of the charge, without the production of any real evidence in its support, and before the accused realizes that he has been put upon his trial, he may find himself branded as a condemned criminal. Any such course of action is indefensible in principle and most pernicious in its practical results. It intensifies that *odium theologicum*, whose bitterness is proverbial, it irritates the feelings of opposing parties, and it may have the unhappy effect of converting into a schism that which is only a difference of opinion. If authority be desirable for the condemnation of such an extra judicial proceeding, I need only refer to the General Convention of 1844, in which, when the Oxford movement had not unnaturally aroused the anxieties of those who desired to maintain the Protestant character of our Church, it was proposed that the General Convention should act on the subject, and as the result of a full discussion, it was resolved,¹ the clerical representatives of twenty-five out of twenty-seven dioceses, and the lay representatives of eighteen out of twenty-two dioceses, concurring:

¹ Perry's Handbook of the General Convention, page 170.

That the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies considers the Liturgy, Offices and Articles of the Church sufficient exponents of her sense of the essential doctrines of Holy Scripture; and that the Canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards.

And further, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise.

There is the deliberate judgment of one branch of the supreme legislature of the Church, upon three points; first, that the Church is not responsible for the errors of individuals; second, that the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of individuals; and third, that the canons of the Church afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards.

There is in the nature of man a tendency to assume as true that which is charged against those who do not conform to established orthodoxy, and that tendency is intensified when popular excitement has fanned the smouldering embers of party spirit into flame. Because of the known existence of that tendency, and for the purpose of giving time for reflection, and of protecting against a hasty and inconsiderate conviction those who are unjustly accused, all systems of jurisprudence prescribe certain methods of procedure which must be followed with precision and with judicial deliberation. Those methods of procedure, however they may differ as to details, agree in requiring that the tribunal be impartial and intelligent, that the defendant have reasonable notice of the precise charge he is to meet and of the time and place of trial, that he be permitted to hear the evidence against him and to adduce testimony on his own behalf, and that he be fully heard in his defense, in person or by counsel. The canons of the General Convention have prescribed the procedure for the trial of Bishops, but they have remitted to the several dioceses the power of legislating as to the trial of other clergymen; and the conventions of the several

dioceses have enacted more or less scientific forms of procedure in such cases.

The judicial system of our Church is, obviously, incomplete, for want of an appellate tribunal to ensure uniformity in the administration of the law, and to correct the errors of diocesan courts of the first instance. Every criminal trial involves not only a finding that a given act was done or omitted to be done, but also an adjudication that that act or that omission constitutes in law a crime. Under our present system that may be judicially declared to be heretical in one diocese which in other dioceses would be regarded as unimportant, and in some dioceses be lauded as expressive of sound doctrine. The lack of an appellate court, whose jurisdiction shall be commensurate with the territorial boundaries of our Church, is scarcely consistent with the affirmation of the unity of the Church.

It may be laid down as a rule, to which there is no exception, that, whenever a case of doctrinal or ritual irregularity invites attention in any parish, the only mode of dealing with the offense, otherwise than by Episcopal admonition, is by proceeding in strict accordance with the canons to try the offending clergyman, and if, after a fair trial, he be found guilty, to administer to him such punishment as the law of the Church has declared to be applicable to the offense.

The clerical office is a right of property, and as such, protected by the Constitution of the United States and the law of the land.

The rule with regard to the legal effect of the judgment of ecclesiastical tribunals is, as stated by Lord Kingsdown,¹ that such judgments will be enforced by the courts of law, *quoad civilia*, only when the tribunal "has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms

¹Long vs. Bishop of Capetown, 3 Moore P. C. N. S., 44.

be prescribed, and if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice.”¹

III.

The precepts of the moral law are clear, and those fundamental doctrines of the faith which have found their best expression in the Nicene and the Apostles' Creed are precisely stated. So also certain doctrines are plainly enunciated in the Articles, and some points of ritual are clearly prescribed in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, yet there is, to say the least, a certain vagueness of definition as to many of the doctrines and much of the ritual of the Church. It may be possible to formulate a code which shall prescribe, with that degree of precision which is required in the framing of laws for disobedience to which penalties are to be inflicted, what doctrines may, and what may not, be held and advisedly taught by clergymen, and what rights and ceremonies may, and what may not, be used in the administration of the services; but certain it is, that no such code has yet been formulated. The enactment of such a code would mark a new era in the Church's history, radically inconsistent and at variance with its past, for it would destroy that broad and liberal comprehensiveness which has put the Church in opposition on the one side to the “iron monotony” of Roman despotism, and on the other to narrow and intolerant sectarian bigotry.

That the Church has always been in fact comprehensive no one can doubt. That its comprehensiveness has been narrowed in this country and at this day will not be asserted by any one who is well informed as to either the law or the actual condition of the

¹See to the same effect—*Dunbar vs. Skinner* 21 Jur., 322; *McMillan vs. Free Church*, 23 Dunlop, 1314; *Murray vs. Burgess*, L. R. I. P. C., 362; *Forbes vs. Eden*, L. R. I. Sc. & Div., 568; Judge Redfield's notes, 9 Am. Law Reg., 133; 10 *Id.*, 308; Mr. Fuller's note, 10 *Id.*, 313; *McAuley's Appeal*, 77 Penna., 397; *Kerr's Appeal*, 89 *Id.*, 97.

Church. All shades of doctrinal opinion and of ritual practice are now represented among her clergy and her laity. Their differences in point of doctrine and of ritual may well be disregarded, if they are at one as to the fundamentals of the faith, and if they are united in love for God and in zeal for His service.

The comprehensiveness of the Church is older than the Patristic theology, for the Apostle Paul wrote:

"There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." This Scriptural recognition of the essential diversities of unity is fittingly followed by that noble chapter upon Charity, which ought to be borne in mind by all of us, and chiefly so when we are most inclined to divert our attention from our own shortcomings to our neighbor's lack of orthodoxy.

The comprehensiveness of the Church has been one of the factors of its growth and is to-day not the least important among the elements of its strength. The first point is well put in a lately published history of "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century." The second point can best be stated in the eloquent words of Canon Farrar, who has himself without trial been condemned in the opinion of some people for want of orthodoxy, and, who, not satisfied with the full and faithful performance of his official duty, has devoted his leisure hours to the writing of scholarly and thoughtful books, among which the work from which I quote is the most recent, and in some respects the most valuable.

Messrs. Abbey and Overton say:¹

The inclusiveness of the Reformed Church of England has never been altogether onesided. It has always contained within its limits many who were bent upon separating themselves by as wide an interval as possible from the Church of Rome, and many on the other

¹ History of the English Church in the XVIII. Century, Vol. I., p. 841.

hand who were no less anxious that the breach of unity should not be greater than was in any way consistent with spiritual independence and necessary reforms. The Reformation undoubtedly derived the greater part of its force and energy from the former of these two parties; to the temperate counsels of the latter it was indebted for being a movement of reform rather than of revolution. Without the one religious thought would scarcely have released itself from the strong bonds of a traditional authority. Without the other it would have been in danger of losing hold upon Catholic belief, and of breaking its continuity with the past. Without either one or the other the English Church would not only have lost the services of many excellent men, but would have been narrowed in range, lowered in tone, lessened in numbers, character, and influence. To use the terms of modern politics, it could neither have spared its conservatives, though some of them may have been unprogressive or obstructionist, nor its liberals, although the more advanced among them were apt to be rash and revolutionary. And again:¹ The law of the English Church in its strict interpretation scarcely seems to tolerate the idea of variety in ceremonial and modes of worship. In practice it has never for long together merited the imputation of allowing no medium between a strict uniformity and a general confusion of all things. Even before the reformation it admitted some variety of "uses," and since it has been left to its own resources, unhampered by the iron monotony of Rome, it has always allowed, in practice if not in theory, a fairly reasonable scope for those differences of taste and feeling, as well as of thought, which must needs co-exist in a church that aspires to be national. No doubt the difficulty of finding a tolerable medium between the two extremes is very considerable; so much so that the governors of the Church have, from time to time, made a vigorous effort to insist that one rule, and one rule only, shall in all things be observed. They have never succeeded. Elizabeth attempted it, but wisely desisted before a sort of passive resistance which was more powerful than her own strong will. Laud attempted it, and in the effort brought destruction upon himself, and ruined for the time his cause. The Act of Uniformity attempted it, but it was hardly passed before it was relaxed and widened by accepted glosses and legalized interpretations.

Canon Farrar says:²

The Christian faith does not centre in a dogma or in a book, but in a person, and this is the cause and pledge of its essential unity.

But unity does not exclude diversity—nay, more, without diversity there can be no true and perfect unity. Where there is no unity, there is distraction, but where there is no diversity there is death.—Where it is ignored, that amid the diversities of gifts and ministrations there is yet the translucent energy of one and the same spirit—there is

¹ Vol. II., p. 463.

² The Early Days of Christianity, Vol. I., p. 247.

confusion, and railing, and irreligious strife. And where, on the other hand, all lips mechanically repeat the same shibboleth for centuries after its significance has been worn away—where the dullness of a self styled “orthodoxy” has obliterated the many hues of the wisdom of God—where inquiry is crushed under the feet of authority, where, in fact, there can be no independent inquiry because all conclusions are dictated beforehand by the tyranny of an usurped infallibility—there is uniformity indeed, but therewith corruption and decay. When it is persecution to alter the perspective of a doctrine and death to leave the cart rut of a system, when they who question the misinterpretations of Scripture, which have been pressed into the service of popular errors, must face the anger of startled ignorance—when there is no life left save the spark which glows in the ashes of the martyr, or the lamp which flickers in the Reformer’s cell, then the caste which has seized the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven may boast indeed of unity, but it is the unity produced by selfishness in the few, and serfdom in the many. The unity so secured is but the stagnancy of the unrippled water, the monotony of the barren sands. It is the unity of the dead plain, “where every mole-hill is a mountain, and every thistle a forest tree.” In this latter condition there is a deadlier peril than in the former. Even discords can be inwrought into the vast sequences of some mighty harmony, but what great music can be achieved with but a single note? Unbroken unanimity may be the boast of a deadening Buddhism, a withered Confucianism, a mechanical Islam; it cannot exist in a free and living Christianity. If it exist at all it can only be as an uniformity of indifference and ignorance—an uniformity of winter and of night. The uniformity of the noonday is only for the Infinite. For finite beings, if there be any light at all, there must be the colour of the sunset and the sevenfold lustre of the rainbow—which is only seen when there is rain as well as sun.

Only the prism’s obstruction shows aright
 The secret of a sunbeam, breaks its light
 Into the jewelled bow from blankest white.
 So may a glory from defeat arise.

The Church’s comprehensiveness has entered into and become part of its system of law, and that cannot now be a fair trial on a charge of heresy in doctrine or non-conformity in ritual which does not pause *in limine*, to inquire whether the mantle of the Church’s charity be not broad enough to shield the defendant from the storm of persecution. The influence of the Church’s comprehensiveness in mitigating the otherwise strict construction of her formularies was judicially recognized by Lord Stowell,¹ but

¹ H. M. Procurator General vs. Stone, 1 Const. Rep., 428.

it was for the first time explicitly declared as a rule of legal construction by Lord Langdale¹ in *Gorham vs. The Bishop of Exeter*, and though when then enunciated it was criticised, it has since been, not merely acquiesced in, but followed and approved in every litigated case of doctrine which has been considered by the ecclesiastical court of last resort in England. In *Heath v. Burder*² Dr. Lushington put the rule tersely in saying: "That which has been allowed or tolerated in the Church ought not to be questioned by this Court." In the *Essays and Review* case, *Williams vs. the Bishop of Salisbury*, Lord Chancellor Westbury said:³

It is obvious that there may be matters of doctrine on which the Church has not given any definite rule or standard of faith or opinion; there may be matters of religious belief on which the requisition of the Church may be less than Scripture may seem to warrant; there may be very many matters of religious speculation and inquiry on which the Church may have refrained from pronouncing any opinion at all. On matters on which the Church has prescribed no rule there is so far freedom of opinion that they may be discussed without penal consequences. Nor in a proceeding like the present are we at liberty to ascribe to the Church any rule or teaching which we do not find expressly and distinctly stated, or which is not plainly involved in or to be collected from that which is written.

In *Sheppard vs. Bennet*,⁴ wherein the assertion of the doctrine of the spiritual real presence was held not to be heretical, Lord Chancellor Hatherly said:

The Church of England has wisely left a certain latitude of opinion in matters of belief, and has not insisted on a rigorous uniformity of thought which might reduce her communion to a narrow compass.

It is true that the decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts in England are not binding upon our Church as authoritative definitions of doctrine. It is also true that the judgments of the English Courts of common law and equity are not conclusive as pre-

¹ Broderick & Fremantle's Ecclesiastical Cases, 64.

² 15 Moore, P. C., 45.

³ Broderick & Fremantle's Ecclesiastical Cases, 247.

⁴ L. R., 4; P. C., 404.

edents in our Courts of law. Yet the sound learning and vigorous reasoning of the able and eminent lawyers, whom England calls to seats upon her benches of lay and ecclesiastical justice, command respect, and give to their judgments an authority which is not limited by the territorial boundaries of their jurisdiction. It is not to be doubted that in future ecclesiastical trials in this country the judgments of the English Courts as to the doctrine and practice of that Church, to which the Church in this country "is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection," and from which she declares that she is far from intending to depart "in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship," will have a controlling influence in the judicial construction of that doctrine, discipline and worship.

IV.

Having, I submit, established the propositions, that in cases of doctrinal or ritual innovation, the clergy only are subject to the Church's corrective discipline; that that discipline can only be administered in the due course of judicial proceedings, and that the Church's system of law is lacking in precision of statement, modified in operation by the accepted fact of her comprehensiveness, and judicially construed with liberality almost amounting to laxity; I come, in the last place, to suggest certain practical considerations with regard to the efficacy and utility of ecclesiastical trials in doctrinal and ritual cases.

An ecclesiastical trial is of grave importance not only to the clergyman who is put upon his trial, but also and still more so to the Church. To him it may result in a judicial decision that he has violated the most solemn vows that any human being can take upon himself, and that judgment may be followed by ignominious expulsion from his profession, and by the destruction of his worldly prospects. For the

Church, such a trial, whatever its ending, is a declaration that the faith Divinely committed to the Church has not availed to save from serious error one of the chosen teachers of that faith, and it is an invitation to a censorious and critical world to turn away from the work which the Church accomplishes in elevating humanity, and to concentrate its attention upon those unhappy dissensions which too readily arise between earnest and faithful men whose zeal is not tempered with discretion. At the best such a trial is, from every point of view, public and private, an evil, and as such not to be encountered, unless it clearly appears that the heresy is so grave in character and so demoralizing in its consequences that ill effects, greater than those necessarily incident to a trial, will result from the failure to bring the heretic to the bar of justice.

The proscription of opinion is always dangerous as a precedent. The insolent and triumphant majority of yesterday may be the oppressed and down-trodden minority of to-morrow, and in their weakness the very weapons they had forged for the destruction of their adversaries may be turned against their own breasts. "Thus, the whirligig of time brings his revenges in." The rejection of Dr. Hampden by the University of Oxford, under the influence of Dr. Pusey and his colleagues, has been followed not only by their victim's elevation to the Episcopate, but also by the cases of Purchas, Maconokie, Green and others, and, on the other hand, the triumph of the Low Churchman and defeat of the Ritualists in those cases, bid fair to culminate in the material modification of the Act of 1874.

"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." It has often happened that persecution has given vitality and vigor to heretical opinions, which, if uncombated, would have been forgotten. As Lord Macaulay¹ has well said:

¹ Essay on Gladstone's Church and State.

Those who preach to rulers the duty of employing power to propagate truth, would do well to remember, that falsehood, though no match for truth alone, has often been found more than a match for truth and power together.

In this connection, let me also quote from Bishop White, *clarum et venerabile nomen*.¹ In those memoirs, which he has left as words of wisdom and instruction for our Church, he has said:

These memoirs may serve for a check to the unnecessary exercise of authority; and may sustain the opinion, that, there being retained, in profession, the essentials of Christian verity, and, in practice, the degree of submission to public will necessary to social worship, much of what is made the subject of ecclesiastical law, may be safely left to the diversity of sentiment, which is the result of difference of intelligence, of education and of constitutional character. But, as in an army, combination of force is found to excite their courage for an enterprise, more hazardous to every one engaged in it, than a danger from which he would shrink in his individual character; so, in a representative body, a member of it is prone to calculate on a degree of submission beyond what he would have imagined in the capacity of a sole legislator, although clothed with an authority greater than that in the other case supposed.

In the estimation of discreet persons generally ecclesiastical legislation is thought to have been carried too far. What the author sees cause to lament, is that many who acknowledge this fact, and who are ready to lay unsparing hands on matters formerly established, would bind on the Church something new and needless, and likely to excite diversity of opinion. They will do this with good intentions, and without being aware of the inconsistency. In a church having the secular arm for its support, what has been mentioned would be an evil, but it must be ruinous, if it should be dominant in a church, so much acted on as ours by opinion of persons of all degrees in life, under an organization, as it were, of yesterday, and therefore not having the support of habitual submission to its decisions. In these circumstances, independently of other considerations, there is a call to the acquiring of a weight of religious character, not only in the Episcopacy, but in the other clergy and in the lay gentlemen, to whom may be committed the important work of making changes in ecclesiastical institutions. Even with the advantage of such a character, let them be aware of the truth of the maxim, that one property of the art of governing, is the taking of care not to govern too much.

It would, I submit, be a grave mistake to narrow by legislation the wide limits of the Church's com-

¹ Memoirs of the Church, page 278.

prehension, but far greater would be the evil of narrowing those limits by judicial legislation, that is, by deciding a particular case, upon a construction of the law which may be so rigid and confined as really to constitute the enactment of a new law, with an *ex post facto* application. The essential character of such judicial legislation and the imminent danger of its growth as the result of ecclesiastical trials, has been forcibly stated by Bishop Blomfield.¹ He says:

The Annals of the Star Chamber suggest what consideration Laud and his followers would have had for the opinions of either of those two great parties which, even Laud's most zealous admirers must admit, have, from the Revolution downwards, borne their full share in sustaining, the one the theological literature, the other the spiritual life of England. The example of the Westminster divines is not more encouraging. Suppose, on the other hand, that the Bishops of the dominant party in the Revolution period had been asked to pronounce their judgment as to the opinions which Laud had patronized fifty years before; or suppose a committee of those whose stagnation of spiritual life and unwise intolerance of all zeal caused the Wesleyan separation, called to say whether the doctrines and practices of the party, since commonly called evangelical, were or were not consistent with the general principles of the Church of England, what, in either case, would have been the result? We live, indeed, in more tolerant times; but still, who that knows anything of the history of Churches can doubt that there must always be danger lest a dominant theological party may be ready, conscientiously enough, to think and to pronounce that opinions strongly opposed to their own are inconsistent with the general spirit of the Church? Far off be the day when the calmly expressed and wisely guarded statements of the Church's written law, sanctioned by the assent of centuries, can be superseded by the rescripts of any committee.

* * * * *

Who shall predict how many new dogmas might not in ten years be propounded by such a body, under the notion of their having been always believed as unexpressed interpretations of the explicit statements of the Church's formularies? What has forced the idolatrous doctrine of the Immaculate Conception on Roman Catholics but this very power, conceded to a dominant Ultramontane section, of declaring that the Church has always held impliedly what it had never before distinctly promulgated?

¹ Introduction to Broderick & Fremantle's Privy Council Cases, XVII.

It may well be doubted whether conformity can be enforced by legal penalties. Individuality and independence may be crushed, zeal may be repressed, a difference of opinion may be magnified into a schism, a minority may be driven out, and the conformity of those who remain may be based upon an unanimity which is only another name for spiritual stagnation, but there cannot be undeviating conformity to one standard of orthodoxy, so long as the Church lives and grows.

In England the experiment of legal repression has been tried under favorable circumstances, with all the advantages incident to the establishment and with the machinery of courts of law ever ready to be put in operation. Yet the present Prime Minister of the Crown, whose abilities, great as they are, are not greater than his love for and devotion to the Church, has stated the result of forty years of legal warfare in these words:¹

I do not disguise my belief, founded on very long and rather anxious observation, that the series of penal proceedings in the English Church during the last forty years, which virtually, though not technically, began with the action of the University of Oxford against Bishop Hampden, have as a whole been mischievous.

* * * * *

They have exasperated strife and not composed it; have tempted men to employ a substitute at once violent and inefficient for moral and mental force; have aggravated perils which they were honestly intended to avert; have impaired confidence; and shaken the fabric of the Church to its foundations.

And he adds:

* * * * *

The more we trust to moral forces, and the less to penal proceedings (which are to a considerable extent exclusive the one of the other) the better for the establishment and even for the church.

* * * * *

One of the strangest freaks of human inconsistency I have ever witnessed is certainly this. We are much (and justly) reminded, with reference to those beyond our pale, to think little of our differences and much of our agreements; but at the same time, and often from

¹ Is the Church of England worth preserving? By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P.

the same quarters, we are taught and tempted by example, if not by precept, within our own immediate "household of faith," to think incessantly of our differences, and not at all of our much more substantial and weighty agreements.

In another place¹ Mr. Gladstone has said that which I cannot refrain from quoting in this connection:

For myself, I am convinced, without claiming the adhesion of any one else, that the great preparatory agent in co-operation with the Roman Church is the war now so actively waged against belief. Discrediting as well as supplanting in susceptible minds the stay they once had, and furnishing no other, the sceptical assault too often leaves a state of vacancy and hunger, as well as of chaos, to which her boldness, and her confidence in the proposal of her peculiar remedies, are eminently congenial. But I think it plain that the separate existence of the school will be promoted, and its accentuation sharpened, and its tendency to supply recruits for the Latin Church promoted, by the long continuance of ineffectual attempts at legal proscription; which whet the appetite for strife, exasperate and harden the spirit of resistance, and have had a visible tendency in some degree to discredit the judicature of the country.

Upon the whole, I surmise that sensible men, upon surveying the field of religious action during the last half century, will consider, each from his own point of view, that the cause of truth and right has had both its victories to record and its defeats to mourn over. It is a blessed thing to think that behind the blurred aspect of that cause, which we see as in a glass darkly, there is the Eye of One to whom all is light, and who subdues to His own high and comprehensive, and perhaps for that reason remote, purposes all the partial and transitory phenomena, with which we are so sorely perplexed. The system or forms, under which we conceive the truth, may each present its several colors, hereafter to be blended into a perfect ray. It will not then be the most boastful or the most aggressive among them that will be found to be the least refracted from the lines of the perfect truth. It will be the one which shall best have performed the work of love, and shall have effected the largest diminution in the mass of sin and sorrow that deface a world, which came so fair from the hand of its Maker. Here there is opened to us a noble competition, wherein, each adhering firmly to what he has embraced humbly, we may all co-operate for the glory of God with a common aim; and, every one according what he asks, and according it as freely as he asks it, all may strive to cultivate the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

¹ "The Evangelical Movement; its Parentage, Progress and Issue." *The British Quarterly*, July, 1879.

At the close of the Lambeth Conference of 1878, the Bishop of Pennsylvania was requested to preach before the assembled conference in the Cathedral of S. Paul in London. In the course of that sermon, every word of which was full of golden thought, that preacher said:

Our little diversities, personal and national, as to non-essentials of faith, and the accessories of worship, look very small before the great essentials in which we all agree. We feel that we all rest on the same corner and foundation stones laid in Zion, even Christ and his Apostles, and the eternal and distinctive verities of faith revealed in God's holy Word.

* * * * *

The real remedy for the troubles within our own Church is not by repressive or by restrictive, or by punitive legislation; it is not by Courts of law, civil or ecclesiastical; it is not by bandying criminous and contemptuous words, and organizing parties in battle array under standards and principles foreign to the Gospel, but it is a more faithful setting forth of Christ.

To those words I can add nothing, but, in their spirit, I may be permitted to suggest that, at this time, when the Church is called upon to resist assaults upon the Christian faith, more dangerous because more intelligently directed than ever before; when there is a world of sin and misery and wretchedness around us; when more than ever there is poverty to be relieved, suffering to be alleviated, sorrow to be comforted; when there are men to be saved from utter wreck and ruin, the Church has more important work to do than that of vainly striving to repress the doctrinal and ritual differences of its members. Let us individually cease to trouble ourselves about our neighbor's failure to come fully up to our standard of orthodoxy—let us forget that we are high-churchmen or low-churchmen, broad-churchmen or narrow-churchmen, ritualists or anti-ritualists—let us remember only that we have “One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all,” and “with all lowliness, and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another with love, endeavoring

to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," let us as soldiers in one army, and under one banner, do whatsoever our Lord and His Church call us to do, for soon, too soon, to each and all of us, "the night cometh when no man can work."

CHRISTOPHER STUART PATTERSON.

ASSISTANT BISHOPS.

THE Church Catholic, from the beginning, has not loved Assistant Bishops. For some ages they were almost unheard of. When admitted at all, it has only been because they seemed to be necessary, and their use has therefore been rigidly limited to cases of actual necessity. The only branch of the Church which has used them more freely, is that branch which has, with the least scruple, sacrificed principle to policy:—and that is the Church of Rome.

Our own Canon on the subject (Title I., Canon 15, § v.,) originally provided for only the one case of necessity, which we shall consider presently. A few years ago there was interpolated into it the permission for a Bishop to have an Assistant “by reason of the extent of his Diocese;” but in this case requiring the consent of the General Church *before going into an election*, besides the other checks provided in all cases after the election of a Bishop and before he can be consecrated. This new sort of Assistant was intended for such cases as Texas and California; but these were afterwards taken care of in another way, by the appointment of three Missionary Bishops. The consent of the General Church has never yet been even so much as *asked* for the election of an Assistant of this new-fangled kind, except by Virginia, in 1880; and then, after a full debate, the House of Deputies *refused* its consent by an overwhelming negative—the clerical vote being only eleven ayes out of forty-eight Dioceses, and the lay vote only eighteen ayes out of forty-four Dioceses. The ground of refusal, as

shown by the debate, was, that where there was strength enough to divide the Diocese, division was the true remedy to be applied. Nay, so strong was the conviction of the impolicy of this new kind of Assistants, that the committee having the matter under consideration reported in favor of *repealing that new part of the Canon altogether!* Objection to this came from the House of Bishops, who thought that the new sort of Assistants *might* possibly be convenient at some unknown time and place hereafter. Thus far, however, it has undeniably been a dead letter, and is likely so to continue. When the first and only attempt to use a Canon results in a determination to repeal it, a wise man will look upon it as being thenceforward a very dead Canon. We shall examine the meaning of it, therefore, in its original shape—the only part of it which has ever been *used*.

This Canon, then, says that “When a Bishop of a Diocese is *unable*, by reason of old age, or other permanent cause of infirmity . . . to discharge his Episcopal duties, one Assistant Bishop may be elected,” &c. All the cases arising under this Canon before the year 1867 were uncontested cases. There had been so much of preparation of the public mind, by the apparent break-down of health on the part of the Bishop, that no serious question was raised. In Ohio, for instance, though some thought that Bishop McIlvaine’s health was not so *very* seriously impaired, yet it could not be denied that he had often been reported as failing in strength; that his Diocese, because of broken health, gave him a year’s leave of absence to travel abroad; that his improvement, as evidenced by his own published letters, was so slow that only towards the end of the year was he able even to preach; and that on his return, somewhat restored, he attempted a visitation, and in three weeks broke down again so entirely that his physicians forbade his going on. Within a few weeks after that, his Convention met and elected an Assistant. And, very naturally, no question was made.

The first—and thus far the *only*—contest was made in 1867, at the election of the present Bishop of Virginia as Assistant to Bishop Johns. Objection being first made in a Church paper not in harmony with the then prevailing tone of Virginia Churchmanship (the *Church Journal*), little account was at first taken of it, on the natural supposition that mere partisanship was the sole cause of the objection; and a number of Standing Committees acted in the usual courteous manner, without realizing the fact that there was any important issue at stake. But gradually certain points began to emerge into proper prominence.

The first was, that Bishop Johns, though then pretty well advanced in years, and feeling the growing infirmities of age, had nevertheless been interrupted in his visitations only for a few days during the entire year, by a slight indisposition; and notwithstanding this slight indisposition, reported a larger amount of Episcopal work done in the Diocese than had ever been done in it before within that same period of time. These facts were proved by his own statements, in his own Address, delivered at that same Council which proceeded to elect Bishop Whittle as his Assistant. The very simple and plain question raised, then, was: Can it be supposed that a Bishop who has *actually done* so great an amount of work during the year, is exactly what the Canon means by a Bishop "*unable to discharge his Episcopal duties?*" And if so, where on earth is the difference between a Bishop who is *able* to discharge his Episcopal duties, and one who is "*unable?*" Or is there any difference at all?

A number of the Standing Committees, as has been said, acted before realizing that there was any such serious question to be decided. The election took place on the 17th of May. Before the close of the ensuing month, the Standing Committee of Massachusetts—*anxious* apparently to get some better ground for confirming the election than could be

found in the Bishop's Address, — "*Resolved*" that their Secretary "be instructed to inquire of the Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Virginia whether an Assistant Bishop was elected because of the inability of the Bishop, 'by reason of old age or other permanent cause of infirmity, to discharge his Episcopal duties,' according to the requirement of the Canon." Now, it was droll to apply to the Secretary of the Virginia Committee, as if *he* knew more about the Bishop's ability to labor than could be learned from the Bishop's own Address, printed in the Journal. But the Secretary threw back the responsibility of answering the ticklish question upon the entire Committee. And they were in a fix! If they should answer in accordance with the facts given in the Bishop's Address, they would stultify the Diocese for going into an election at all! But Virginia has always been famous for the "strict construction" of legal documents. The Committee knew what the language of the law required, and therefore complied with *that* exactly. On the 22d day of June they certified to the Standing Committee of Massachusetts that "It is a fact within the knowledge of the Standing Committee of Virginia, that the Bishop of the Diocese, by reason of old age and other permanent cause of infirmity, *is* unable to discharge his Episcopal duties." As to how this declared inability might be capable of a "strict construction" with the *facts* of the Bishop's labors as given in his Address, the Committee ventured not the remotest hint. They probably thought that the Bishop's Address was printed, and could take care of itself. *They* were trying to protect *the Council*, and the Council certainly needed it.

Yet though they declared the inability of the Bishop to be "*within the knowledge* of the Standing Committee of Virginia"—thus making themselves *personally responsible* for the *truth* of their language,—they did not succeed in carrying conviction to all minds. The Standing Committee of the southern

Diocese of Georgia, in the month of July, "*Resolved, That until this Committee shall receive satisfactory evidence that the Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia 'is unable by reason of old age, or other permanent cause of infirmity, to discharge his Episcopal duties,' it will feel constrained to withhold its consent to the consecration of an Assistant Bishop for said Diocese.*" The Standing Committee of Illinois, also, decided that "It does not appear that the condition of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Virginia is such as the above-quoted section describes as authorizing Mr. Whittle's election and consecration." And others might be added.

But the complication was not yet complete. A majority of *one* among the Standing Committees had slowly been secured by August, but others had yet to act. The Standing Committee of Pittsburgh—not satisfied with the personal knowledge of the Standing Committee of Virginia,—applied to Bishop Johns himself for a statement touching his canonical health and ability to labor. And the Bishop—although desirous of the consecration of his Assistant—made a canonical reply which was not inconsistent with his Address and its facts. He did *not*, indeed, reply that during the previous year he had performed a larger amount of Episcopal work than had *ever* been performed in Virginia before within the same time (even when there were two Bishops); he did *not* state that his only interruption had been from a transient indisposition of only a few days; but, while sparing his Council the reiteration of the *whole* truth, he yet very cleverly reduced it to the minimum, enlarging upon his infirmities, but at length declaring as follows: "Neither age, nor infirmity from other causes have [*sic*] thus far prevented me from rendering to this Diocese the amount of Episcopal service required by the Canon." As the Canon only *requires* that a Bishop shall visit all his parishes *once in three years*, it will be seen that this is a tremendous *understatement* of the facts as given in his Ad-

dress, though not a categorical *contradiction* of them, as *was* the certificate of his Standing Committee. The Bishop's form of words, moreover, is useful in another point of view. When the Canon says "*unable to discharge his Episcopal duties,*" it must certainly mean that which *the Canon* defines to be "*the duty*" of a Bishop, and cannot refer to the custom or public expectation of *annual* visitations to *all* the parishes. So long as a Bishop is "*able*" to visit each of his parishes once in three years, he is *not* "*unable to discharge his Episcopal duties.*"

In this point of view the Bishop's reply was perfectly convincing to the Standing Committee of Pittsburgh, who, on receiving it, promptly "*Resolved, That, while entertaining entire Christian sympathy with the venerable Bishop Johns in the infirmities to which he alludes in his communication, we still do not consider the election of the Rev. Mr. Whittle as within the spirit or letter of the Canon, and therefore feel compelled, though reluctantly, to withhold our consent to his consecration.*"

But the most pungent thing about the reply of Bishop Johns, was the fact that it contradicted so prettily the certificate of his own Standing Committee! In June his Committee said: "*It is a fact, within the knowledge of the Standing Committee of Virginia, that the Bishop of the Diocese, by reason of old age, and other permanent cause of infirmity, is unable to discharge his Episcopal duties.*" And nearly two months later, the Bishop himself says: "*Neither age nor infirmity from other causes have thus far prevented me from rendering to this Diocese the amount of Episcopal service required by the Canon.*" That this palpable and point blank contradiction was the subject of ridicule all over the Church, goes without saying. As late as December that year (the election had been in May) the *Southern Churchman* was still vainly trying to explain away the contradiction between the "*letter*" of the Bishop of Virginia as to

his *ability*, and the "certificate" of his Standing Committee as to his *inability*.

Meanwhile, although a bare majority of the Standing Committees had consented in August, the consent of the Bishops was dragging along with very significant slowness. The absence of a part of them at the Lambeth Conference in September may have caused some delay. But Autumn passed and Winter came; the Bishops returned from Lambeth; and still the number of consents was not made up. The Presiding Bishop (Hopkins) died early in January, and among the official papers on the subject was found his distinct *refusal* to give his consent, on the express ground that there was no canonical case for the election of any Assistant at all. There was a meeting of the Bishops early in February, 1868, nearly nine months after the election; and on examining the exact condition of the matter, it was found that *one* more consent was needed, without which Virginia would not get her Assistant. Bishop Randall was thereupon good natured enough to change his position from the negative (which he had taken in writing), to the affirmative; which let the Assistant in by a bare majority. More than two months of additional delays occurred before the consecration took place, on the 30th of April, 1868—nearly a *whole year* after the election: the longest, slowest, and toughest consecration ever secured in the Church of America. And even so, it would certainly have failed, had not kind feeling towards Virginia, the last and most reluctant Southern Diocese to return after the close of the Civil War, prevailed with many, to give to amiability the victory over clear Canon law.

One would have thought that, with such an experience, Virginia would not be likely to try it again, except in a remarkably clear case. And yet; in all these fifteen years, no contested case has arisen, until Virginia challenges, once more, precisely the old issue. The tenderness due to a late and reluctant return from "the Church in the Confederate States" is now

a thing of the past, and will not seriously interfere with clear convictions as to Canon law. In the discussion in the General Convention of 1880, Virginia had fair warning as to what she might expect. But let us prepare the way for the new campaign by a general consideration of the question.

To provide for the possible loss of ability to perform his duty on the part of the head of the administrative department, is not a matter peculiar to Church law. It is found equally in the civil law. The General Government, and all the State Governments, provide for exactly the same contingency, expressed in almost exactly the same words. The Constitution of the United States (Article II., Section 1), says:

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or *inability* to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or *inability*, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, *until the disability be removed*, or a President shall be elected.

In like manner the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Article IV., Section 18) says:

In case of the death, conviction or impeachment, failure to qualify, resignation, or *other disability* of the Governor, the powers, duties and emoluments of the office, for the remainder of the term, or *until the disability be removed*, shall devolve upon the Lieutenant Governor.

Sec. 14. In case of a vacancy in the office of Lieutenant Governor, or when the Lieutenant Governor shall be impeached by the House of Representatives, or shall be *unable to exercise the duties* of his office, the powers, duties, and emoluments thereof, for the remainder of the term, or until the disability be removed, shall devolve upon the President *pro tem.* of the Senate, etc.

The Constitution of every State in the Union contains something of the same sort, so that it is a provision of law with which the American people are perfectly familiar. They know exactly what it means.

Let us examine the language a little more closely, to put the extinguisher upon mere quibbles. The Constitution of the United States speaks of "*inabil-*

ity to discharge the powers and duties of the said office;" and again uses the same word "*inability*;" and then declares who shall act, "until the *disability* be removed." It is abundantly clear, then, that "*inability*" and "*disability*" mean precisely the same thing. In like manner, the Constitution of Pennsylvania speaks of "*disability*," and says who shall act "until the '*disability*' be removed:" and then, in Section 14 uses the phrase "*unable* to exercise the *duties* of his *office*" as precisely equivalent. This is in exact accord with the language of our Canon: "Unable to discharge his *Episcopal duties*."

Now, it is one of the simplest axioms of law, as well as of common sense, that the use of precisely the same words in the same connection necessarily implies that they mean the same thing in either case. It is impossible to maintain that when an officer is legally "*able*" to discharge the duties of his office, he is at the same time legally "*unable*" to do it. We have had several cases in regard to the Presidency of the United States, which have awakened the utmost interest of the entire nation, and in which the delicacy of conscientiousness has been so sensitive, that no question of mere interpretation has even been risked. The last case was in connection with the shooting of President Garfield, when, for nearly two months, he was evidently and notoriously "*unable*" to discharge the duties of the Presidential office. The one whose constitutional right it was to supersede him, was *supposed* to represent the most unscrupulous, rapacious, ambitious and domineering element in American politics. Here, if ever, there was to have been expected an eager seizing of the immense Presidential power, clearly within the constitutional grasp of this (supposed) corrupt and reckless ambition. The whole Nation waited in breathless suspense. *Not a finger was lifted* towards the glittering prize. Only when Death had defined the *inability* as complete and irreversible, was the constitutional right and

duty exercised. And the quiet modesty and delicacy of this waiting drew forth the unanimous plaudits of the American people, and gave to Mr. Arthur the admiring confidence of the Nation.

Now "*inability to discharge the duties*" of a civil office must mean precisely the same thing as "*inability to discharge the duties*" of an ecclesiastical office. And Church law ought to be at least as binding on the consciences of churchmen, as the civil law is on the consciences of politicians. And yet, how has it been in reality?

Virginia has been noted for her zeal in maintaining "strict construction." This "strict construction," years ago, prevented the establishment of a Court of Appeal without a previous change in the Constitution. And when the change was accomplished, Virginia "strict construction" maintained that the language of that amendment was not clear enough to *compel* the very thing it was notoriously meant to *express*, and "strict construction" blocked the Court of Appeal again. And so in other cases, where other people wished to *do* something, Virginia "strict construction" was sternly stopping the way. But what was the strict construction of the word "unable" in 1867? It was this: that a Bishop, who reported that year a larger amount of Episcopal work *actually done* than had ever before been done in that diocese within the same time, was "*unable to discharge his Episcopal duties!*" And the Standing Committee of Virginia certified that this *inability* was "*a fact, within the knowledge*" of that Standing Committee!

And the same wonderful use of the English language has come down, by oral tradition, to the Virginia of our own day. Three years ago already, when applying for an Assistant on the other ground (of extent of diocese), the Rev. Dr. Hanckel seems to have thought it wise to begin to lay the foundation for the election of an Assistant for "*inability.*" In his speech in General Convention on the subject, he

said that "the Bishop's medical adviser stood ready to testify that *because of his physical condition he did need* the services of an Assistant." How does it look, as an evidence of "strict construction," that a Bishop who was *permanently* "unable to discharge his Episcopal duties" *then*, has now gone on for *three years*, discharging a very full line of Episcopal duties (besides some things that were *not* Episcopal duties), and all this while no complaint of physical inability has reached the public from any quarter, until the meeting of the last Diocesan Council was drawing near?

Then, with the question of the Division of the Diocese sure to come up, and in a shape peculiarly uncomfortable for the Bishop, his health began to fail; but in a manner which is hardly Canonical.

In his address, the first mention of his disability is very gentle:

Having been unwell all the winter, and seeing no prospect of improvement during the spring, I accepted a kind offer of assistance from Bishop Peterkin, of West Virginia, who filled for me the following appointments (twenty-one in number), &c.

But afterwards, on introducing the subject formally, the Bishop again uses language far too gentle to furnish synonyms for the stern words of the Canon:

Kind friends having offered me the opportunity of relief for a season from the burden of official care and labor which I have borne for fifteen years, I purpose (God willing, and with your approval), soon after our adjournment, to seek rest and recreation beyond the bounds of our own country. I therefore respectfully ask of the Council a leave of absence from the Diocese for about four months.

The idea that this language comes up to canonical strength is simply amusing. But the Bishop is only beginning, and feels that he needs to approach the subject gradually. He continues by alluding to the action in 1876, as follows:

In the Council of 1876 resolutions were offered to proceed to the election of an Assistant Bishop. These resolutions were referred to a committee of three clergymen and two laymen, to report the next day,

after consultation with the Bishop. The Committee advised to postpone the election, *in accordance with the suggestions of the Bishop*, and because he "assured the Committee that if, after a fair and prudent trial, it should be found, in the opinion of the Standing Committee and other judicious advisers, whom he would consult and to whose judgment he would defer, that the interests of the Church in this Diocese required that he should be aided in the discharge of his Episcopal duties, he would take such action as would bring the subject before a special session of the Council for its consideration and wise determination.

So it seems that, *seven years ago*, some people thought that the Bishop was sick enough to have an Assistant; but he very shrewdly leaves out entirely the one significant thing about that movement. It was gotten up in the vain endeavor to stop the erection of the new Diocese of West Virginia, which was happily accomplished in the next year 1877. Thenceforward we hear nothing more of the Bishop's failing health, until the rise of the present agitation for another new Diocese, when, immediately, intimations were again heard—as from Dr. Haackel in 1880—that the Bishop's failing health entitled him to an Assistant. The resolution adopted by the Council in 1876 was quite correct. It was then resolved that "this Council doth declare, that it stands ready, whenever *the necessity* may arise, to elect an Assistant," &c. Let us now go on with the Bishop's description of his failing health, to see whether "the necessity" has really arisen:

When I finished my visitations early in last December, I was suffering great nervous prostration, producing sleeplessness and other distressing troubles. I hoped that the quiet of home during the winter, with medical treatment, would restore me, but having improved very little, if at all, up to the first of March, I felt myself pledged to the Council, in view of the proceedings which I have recited [seven years before!], to consult the "Standing Committee and other judicious advisers." After such consultation with the Committee, they passed, March 8d, this resolution: "That if, when the next annual Council meets, the Bishop is of opinion that, from permanent cause of infirmity, he is unable to discharge his Episcopal duties without serious risk of the entire prostration of his health, the Standing Committee would advise him to ask from the Council the fulfilment of the pledge of the Council of 1876, to elect an Assistant Bishop.

Since that time I have done but little work and *my health has improved*. But it is still such that I am obliged to confess, that in the opinion of my physician, of judicious friends, and of myself, the case is as supposed by the Standing Committee. In other words, according to my best judgment, I "am unable, by reason of permanent cause of infirmity, to discharge my Episcopal duties," and therefore respectfully ask, with a view to the best interests of the Diocese, that you elect an Assistant to share with me the burdens and responsibilities of my office.

Let us now see how even this gentle sort of "inability" agrees with the facts of the Bishop's work, as recorded by himself, remembering that the idea of his inability was started *seven years ago*, and was ventilated on the floor of General Convention *three years ago*.

In his list of Confirmations, the Bishop kept *sixteen* appointments in June, *one* in July, *nineteen* in August (only think of it!), besides three that were missed, not through sickness but "because of rain and high water;" *thirteen* in September, *nineteen* in October, besides presiding at the Church Congress most acceptably, *six* in November, and *five* in December. We now reach the break of which the Bishop speaks, and there was only *one* confirmation in January. But his words: "having improved very little, if at all, up to the first of March," hardly agree with his own record, that he held *two* visitations on every Sunday in February, except one, and on that one he held *three* visitations, which is a very lively and healthy sort of "disability." Having gotten the opinion of his Standing Committee in the beginning of March [we have already seen what a Virginia Standing Committee could do in 1867], it is no surprise to us to find that the Bishop kept *nineteen* visitations in that same month of March. He does indeed mention that on "March 19 and 20.—Was prevented by sickness from filling appointments in Princess Anne." But this "sickness" could not have been anything canonically serious, for on the 20th—the latter of the same two days on which he was "*sick*"—he records that he held a visitation at

“Christ Church, Norfolk,” and “confirmed twenty-one;” and on the very next day he held two other visitations. In April he held *six* confirmations, and in May, *twelve*, before the meeting of the Council. Moreover, his acceptance of aid in visitations from Bishop Peterkin is no evidence of “inability” at the time, for during the very time that Bishop Peterkin was holding his twenty-one visitations, Bishop Whittle was holding a series of visitations in another part of the Diocese, and confirming nearly as many as Bishop Peterkin!

Moreover, as to the “*necessity*” of the case, and the *permanence* of the infirmity which produces “inability.” Is there any such necessity? Is there any such permanence?

The Bishop himself says, “*my health has improved;*” and his visitation list adds its demonstration. The Council, in granting him leave of absence, show that *they* do not regard his illness as permanent or hopeless, for they “express the earnest hope that this term of absence may be blessed to such a restoration of the Bishop’s health and strength as God in His love and wisdom may see fit to grant.” As neither the Bishop nor his Council take his “sickness,” or “nervous prostration,” or “infirmity,” to be “permanent,” it will be no hardship if the General Convention should take the same view of it, and decline to confirm an assistant elected under such circumstances. When the Bishop’s own “summary” reports the whole number of clergy as 144, and the number of visitations as 155—*eleven more* than the clergy—it is hardly the time to vote the Bishop “unable to discharge his Episcopal duties;” especially since all of the 155, except twenty-one, were made by himself in person. It seems to us that a little of the medicine of 1876 is all that is needed for Bishop Whittle’s failing health. As the erection of the new diocese of West Virginia gave him a sufficient restoration of strength for the seven years last past, we think it probable, by analogy, that the erection of

another new diocese now, would restore him to reasonable "ability to discharge his Episcopal duties," for at least seven years to come.

The Bishop's subsequent claim, that Canon 15 (acted on since 1829) is unconstitutional (!), and that each "diocese" has an "inalienable right to have as many bishops as it pleases, without asking the consent or brooking the interference of any *outside authority* whatever," is perfectly wild, and is unworthy of any notice, except to say, that the putting it forward is only an indirect confession that the last election in Virginia has *no chance at all* under the canon *as it stands*.

In what has been said about Virginia, it must not be forgotten that we speak of official action, and do not mean to ignore the noble struggle there for a new diocese—a struggle which is one of the bravest and most remarkable that the church has yet seen, and which *must* and *will* be crowned with final victory.

Let us look at another prominent case—that of Central Pennsylvania—which, happily, is not at present in a condition to appear before the General Convention for action. But it will help us to master the system of interpretation of canonical language, on which the action of Virginia rests.

In both cases the *real* reason for asking an Assistant was not in the slightest the "inability" of the Bishop, but only his desire to defeat the agitation for a "new diocese." This notorious motive, alone, should be enough to prevent the confirmation of any such Assistant Bishop-elect, for the demand for such an Assistant actually rests upon one ground, which is *not canonical*; and openly alleges only another ground, which *does not exist*. In the case of Central Pennsylvania this is brought out with remarkable distinctness.

In 1879 it was well known that a *Memorial* would be presented at the Convention, in June, asking the consent of the Bishop and Convention to the erection of a new diocese. In various places throughout his

jurisdiction, the Bishop, in that year, stated his preference for an Assistant, and declared that he would surrender \$2,000 a year of his salary, to go towards the support of an Assistant, if his Convention were willing to give him one, and if a man acceptable to himself should be chosen. Now, in that year, instead of being "unable to discharge his Episcopal duties," Bishop Howe actually did a *larger amount* of work in visitations and confirmations *than in any other year* of his entire episcopate!

The Bishop did not *ask* for an Assistant, publicly, at that time. This was not done until three whole years later, in 1882. During all these three years he was not suspected of "inability" by any one, and certainly not by himself. In his *Address*, in 1882, he thus introduced the portion of it devoted to the narration of his year's work: "I have made a *very general visitation of the diocese* in the past year, have administered confirmation *wherever classes were awaiting my coming*, and have in *nearly every instance* preached *before*, and spoken words of counsel to the catechumens *after*, the laying on of hands." Again, speaking of the roughest parts of his missionary ground, as calling for some personal exposure at certain seasons of the year, he adds [*not that he had been disabled by even so much as catching cold, but*]: "*Hitherto I have had strength given me to fulfill my duty* in that and kindred regions." Now, does "strength to fulfill my duty" mean exactly what the Canon describes as "*unable to discharge his Episcopal duties*?" Yet, at this very same Convention he *asked* for an Assistant, declaring the danger of his "dying in his tracks" if he did not get one immediately. Opposition was indeed openly made, on the true ground that there was no canonical case for the election of any Assistant. Appeal was made to the Bishop's own record of work, just read to the Convention, as *proving* that he was *not* "unable to discharge his Episcopal duties." Attention was called to the fact that, even in his moving *extempore* address on the

subject, the Bishop did not *declare* himself to be "unable." When, on the following morning, the Secretary moved a resolution with the following preamble: "It appearing to this Convention, from the statement made to us by our Bishop, that *he is unable* by reason of old age to discharge his Episcopal duties, and as he has asked for the election of an Assistant Bishop, therefore," &c. Before this was put to the House, the Bishop's attention was openly and pointedly called to the fact that both in his written and in his extemporaneous addresses he had *carefully avoided* using the language of the Canon, and with the best reason—because everybody knew that in his case it would not be true; and it was added that the Secretary ought not to put words in his mouth which he had carefully avoided using himself. The only answer to this rather pointed appeal, in open Convention, was, that the Bishop looked for an instant in helpless silence at the Secretary, and, with not one word said by either in reply, the preamble and resolutions were put and "carried," only *one* voice being heard in the negative.

But when the balloting showed that there was not the ghost of a chance for electing any one as Assistant who was personally acceptable to the Bishop, there was a speedy adjournment to October. By that time there had been some "sober second thoughts" in divers quarters, and the plan of electing an Assistant fell through. It then seemed as if the new diocese would be formed as a matter of course, and that the Convention, in June, *could* not well act in any other way.

When June came, the Bishop's Address showed that he had not given up all hopes of an Assistant. He gave a careful enumeration of the infirmities which had interfered with his Episcopal duties. He told, it is true, the story of *sixty-five* confirmations held by him during the year, with *twenty-one* other visitations where there were no confirmations, making *eighty-six* in all, *besides* consecrations of churches,

ordinations, and other services; which does not look much like "*inability*." The Bishop of Pittsburgh, indeed, gave him more than a fortnight's services besides; but Bishop Howe does not bring this forward as being done on account of his own inability. He says: "The Bishop of Pittsburgh, aware of my *fixed habit of visiting every part of the Diocese in every year* [this is a beautiful definition of the '*inability*' supposed to have existed already for four years!], and considerate of my advancing age, kindly offered to share my labors in the latter part of the month of May." That this kind and welcome *offer* on the part of Bishop Whitehead was not caused by "*inability*" on the part of Bishop Howe, is further evident from the fact, that during the same days when Bishop Whitehead was officiating in one part of the diocese, Bishop Howe was himself holding a series of visitations in another part of the same diocese, and confirmed just about as many as were confirmed by Bishop Whitehead; thus proving that the one bishop was, at that time, about as "*unable*" as the other.

But let us examine carefully the recorded instances of the interruption of Bishop Howe's labors through physical causes during the past year, as they are set down by himself in his Address for our consideration, as justifying his renewed call for an Assistant. We shall find the record rather more gentle than even in Virginia.

The first was in October: "On Friday morning (October 27) I drove ten miles across the country to Mansfield, in the face of a wet and chill northeaster. I had been suffering for several days from a painful and almost disabling lameness. This climax of exposure incident to three days of travel in open vehicles, when the dampness from frosty nights and falling leaves was on the air through intervening days, overcame my strength, and rendered it impossible for me to complete the circuits which I had projected with presumptuous confidence. At St. James's, Mansfield . . . I could no more than

confirm a class of seven. . . . I had intended to pass Sunday, October 29, at Tioga and Lawrenceville, which I was specially desirous to do, because our flocks in those places are as sheep without a shepherd, having had no pastoral care since the resignation of the Rev. Mr. London, who had left them months before. But my shadow could not heal like St. Peter's, and I could not speak. So, on Saturday morning I set my face toward home." This interruption, however, only served to prove the vigor of the Bishop's constitution, for he records that on the *third day* thereafter he was already far off in New York City, celebrating the semi-centennial of his "aged relative," our venerable Presiding Bishop. And "on the following day, at Zion Church, New York," he married a wealthy couple. His ailments, though "*almost* disabling," were *not quite* so, as yet.

We soon read of other exposures to the inclement weather: "On Friday morning [November 17], breasting a storm of snow and sleet, I set off to fulfill appointments at Pleasant Mount and Dundaff, knowing that over much of the way I must travel in open vehicles. At the appointed hour of service I drove up to St. Paul's; few of the farmers' families that compose the congregation had braved the tempestuous weather. . . . A drive of eleven miles more in the early darkness of a November day brought me to St. James's Church, Dundaff. . . . The day following I drove early into Carbondale . . . on my way to Sterling and Salein. Weary and almost frozen, I reached my destination long after the sun went down." Nothing demonstrates more clearly than these words, what is the fact in regard to the Bishop's remarkable health and bodily strength. Notwithstanding his more than seventy years of age, he is an uncommonly well-preserved man, of whom Bishop Clark said, and said truly, at Bishop Howe's jubilee celebration in Reading, that "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." Here we find, from his own record, how he bore the hardships of

"open vehicles," "breasting a storm of snow and sleet," driving "eleven miles in the early darkness of a November day," and even being "*almost frozen*" on Saturday night; yet no harm happened to him. He bore all this like a hero; and on the very next day after being "*almost frozen*," he records that he "officiated in both churches, seven miles apart."

In the record for January, we read that at Easton "the weather was forbidding, yet the congregations were large;" and then immediately follow the words: "Through the fortnight following I was disabled for any public ministrations, and confined to my house by stress of weather."

In the record for May, we read that at Mauch Chunk "the weather was very inclement, being cold and rainy, and although every care was taken to shield me from exposure, I contracted a heavy cold, which for more than a fortnight confined me to the house, and interrupted my course of visitations."

We have now quoted absolutely the entire showing of "inability" during the whole year, as made by Bishop Howe himself; and yet, before closing his Address, he says:

The experience of the past *eighteen months* forces upon me the conviction that I can no longer, *with impunity*, bear the fatigues and exposures incident to my position as Bishop in a large rural diocese. And since this would continue to be true, and more emphatically so, in every succeeding year until my release, even if one-half the present territory were left under my jurisdiction, I hereby *renew the request* to which the Convention in June last responded with so much unanimity, *that an Assistant Bishop be elected* for this undivided diocese, etc..

But the Convention, which had been nearly unanimous a year before under the natural impulse of a first surprise, was not now so susceptible. Though the New Diocese failed by a majority of *one* on the clerical vote, there was no readiness for electing the Assistant as "requested." That matter was referred to a committee, to report on a year later! Now, only look at it. An Assistant cannot be had, except for

"inability." The Bishop had been talking in favor of an Assistant for *more than four years*. At the end of this time he says: "The experience [not of the past *four years*, but only] of the past *eighteen months* forces upon me the conviction, that I can no longer *with impunity*, bear the fatigues and exposures incident to my position as Bishop in a large rural diocese." This is an entirely different idea from that of the Canon. The Canon does *not* say that "whenever the Bishop of a Diocese is unable to *bear with impunity* the *fatigues* and *exposures* incident to his office," &c. If it did, perhaps there might be some ground for electing an Assistant whenever the Bishop had been hoarse for a few days, or had "contracted a heavy cold," the effects of which were felt for "more than a fortnight." But it takes something more to make a Bishop "*unable* to discharge his Episcopal duties;" and as to *this*, we have Bishop Howe's own declaration that *during all these years* it has been his "*fixed habit*" to "*visit every part* of the diocese in *every year*," which is a very respectable degree of "*ability*." To go to the civil analogy once more, what would be thought of Congress, if, on the ground that President Arthur had suffered from a "heavy cold" for "more than a fortnight," it should appoint a committee to report, a year thereafter, whether, by that time, the President should have become so "unable to discharge his duties," that the President of the Senate might then come in and take the reins of government out of his hands? Or is it to be openly maintained, that though a bullet in the back, followed by death, did not make a President "unable" in less than *six weeks*, yet a "heavy cold," followed by complete recovery, can make a Bishop "unable" in *two weeks*?

But, it may be said, the civil and ecclesiastical cases are not exactly parallel, for the one is to be remedied by the substitution of a different individual, and the other by the appointment of an Assistant without displacing the principal. When fully con-

sidered, this only makes the case worse instead of better. The "*inability*" must be the *same* in both cases. The only difference is in the *remedy*. And every comparison shows *less* reason for a hasty application of the remedy in the Church, than in the State.

For first, a *temporary* disability is provided for by the State, and a return of power to the disabled person so soon as the inability is passed. The Church does *not* contemplate any temporary disability, but *only* one that is *permanent*. There is the less need of haste, then, in deciding that the "*inability*" is *permanent*,—especially when, as yet, it does not happen to exist at all.

Secondly, a Bishop can get any other Bishop to hold confirmations and visitations, and to consecrate and to ordain in his place, by his authority. The President and the Governor can do nothing of the kind.

Thirdly, a portion of the Bishop's work may be devolved upon his Standing Committee. A President or a Governor has no such remedy.

For all these reasons, and others that might be found if it were worth while, it is manifest that even in cases of real "*inability*" it is much more necessary to act with promptness in the civil cases, than in those of the Church. And yet, with far *less* of need or of excuse, a laxity of interpretation of our Canon is urged in certain quarters, which would scandalize the most corrupt and unscrupulous politicians this country has ever seen, if applied to *exactly the same language* in the law of the land. And in every case it is *urged* upon the clergy and laity by every variety of Episcopal pressure which can be brought to bear, and urged with an openness which is well-nigh a scandal in itself.

But now, let us ask: "What can possibly be the *basis* of this extraordinary misuse of the Canon?" It is simply because men have *taken for granted* that an Assistant may be elected *as a preventive* of a

break-down on the part of the Bishop. There is not a word in the Canon to authorize this construction: yet this *assumption* is at the bottom of all the mistaken action on the subject. Bishop Howe says, in 1882:

If my life be protracted, the time *will soon come* when I can no more take long journeys, and encounter the exposures incident to travel in rough and sparsely settled counties.

And after saying that hitherto he has had strength given to him, he adds:

But I cannot hope to make *many more* such circuits with impunity. I must either, *ere long*, neglect these frontier places, or solicit from time to time the help of some younger brother in the Episcopate in such arduous visitations, or have my lack of service supplied
. . . by the election of an Assistant Bishop.

These words are proof positive that the Bishop was *not* "unable" at the time they were uttered. His language in 1883 (already quoted) is in the same strain. One of the advocates of the election of an Assistant to whom this was pointed out, said: "Why, you would not wait till a Bishop was actually broken down first, before giving him an Assistant, would you?" To which it was answered: "Certainly I would. The Canon is meant for a broken-down Bishop, and for none other; nay, for a Bishop who is already so *permanently* broken down that there is no earthly hope of his recovery." The Canon does not read: "Whenever any Bishop says that he thinks that, without help, he might, could, would or should break down at some unknown time in the future, he may have an Assistant elected whenever he asks for one:"—it *don't* say this; but it does say: "Whenever a Bishop of a diocese *is unable*,"—the *inability* must *already exist*. All prospective action is clearly excluded. To try to apply the Canon as a *prospective preventive*, is an entire perversion. Otherwise, *any* Bishop could have an Assistant at any time, whenever he was willing to say that he thought his own

precious health might suffer from overwork without it.

From all that has been said, it is clear that the attempt to stave off a division of a diocese by electing an Assistant Bishop instead, is utterly illegitimate, from beginning to end. There is *no* point of view from which it can be defended. If the Bishop really "*is* unable" to discharge the duties of his office, the erection of a new diocese will not help him to take care of the old, as is clear from the language used by Bishop Howe himself. And if in reality he is *not* "unable," there is no case for the election of an Assistant at all. The mere proposal of the two methods of relief, therefore, as alternatives in *any* sense, is a stultification of the proposer.

A few words more, and we are done. As a consequence of the Episcopal pressure which has been brought to bear on both clergy and laity in favor of electing Assistants when there was really no case for any such election, some current phrases are often heard, which seem to take the place of the clear language of law. For instance, nothing is more common than to hear it said, that "when a Bishop *asks* for an Assistant, he ought to have one." But the Canon says *not one word* about a Bishop's "asking" for an Assistant. He may have paralysis, or become insane, or idiotic from old age, so that he cannot "ask." Again, we hear it said, that "whenever a Bishop says that he thinks his health is likely to break down without an Assistant, he ought to have one." But the Canon says nothing of that ground for an election. Nor does it provide for the opinion of a family physician—even should he be a member of the Bishop's own family. The law simply lays down a basis of *fact*:—"When a Bishop *is* unable to discharge his Episcopal duties," and "*unable through old age or other permanent cause of infirmity.*" And the Convention, by going into an election of an Assistant, thereby certify to the rest of the Church that their Bishop "*is* unable," and that *they know it*. If,

at the very same time, their Bishop's own record of work *proves* that he is "*able*," the Diocese must bear the reproach of barefaced misrepresentation, in the sight of the whole Church.

We trust that the Virginia case will be so thoroughly discussed, and so decisively settled, that hereafter all parts of our Church shall understand the following plain propositions:—

1st. That "*inability*" to discharge the duties of the Episcopate does not mean exactly the same as "*ability*" to discharge those same duties.

2d. That unless the inability be such that, in the case of a President or a Governor, it would devolve the duties of the office upon the substitutes provided by law, there is *no case at all* for the election of an Assistant Bishop.

3d. That when the Bishop himself shows, by the facts embodied in his Address, that he has *actually performed* the full amount of Episcopal duty required by the Canon, and when no question is made as to the truth of his statements in that respect, no proposal for the election of an Assistant can be considered, no matter what may be the reports of "committees" or "family physicians."

4th. That the Church expects her clergy and laity to be *at least* as honest and conscientious in the interpretation of Church law, as the worst and most unscrupulous politicians are in the interpretation of the law of the land.

5th. That if, notwithstanding the clearness of the law, the force of Episcopal pressure should succeed in carrying the election of an Assistant when the sole canonical ground does not exist—and especially when it is pushed as a pretext for defeating the erection of a new diocese—then the authority of the General Church will supply the needed corrective, by *refusing to confirm* any such election.

J. H. HOPKINS.

MEDICAL MISSIONS.

MEDICAL Missions, though but recently revived from a disuse of over a thousand years, are now employed by all the great Protestant Missionary Societies of the world. Their resemblance to our Saviour's way of ministering is very striking. "Why," said the late Dr. Muhlenberg to the writer, "that is the very way our Lord Jesus worked—preaching and healing together." Bishop Schereschewsky has said, "A work of healing and mercy to men's bodies was our Lord's own preparation for preaching the Word among a people dull of heart and slow to believe." They commend themselves to all classes of observers. "Surely," said the English statesman, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter, after visiting the Medical Mission at Agra, India, a few months ago, "this is the most potent lever that a Missionary can use." They are appreciated by Christian workers in other departments. Said the late Dr. Moffat, "A Missionary is a good thing, but a Medical Missionary is a Missionary and a half; I might say a double Missionary." Many of the Bishops and Clergy of our branch of the Church have been heard in cordial endorsement of this so-called "new departure."

Such hospitals as S. Luke's in New York, and the Episcopal Hospital in Philadelphia, are practically Medical Missions, as are those established by Bishops Tuttle, Spalding, Morris and Paddock, within their respective jurisdictions. In our Foreign Mission field we have Medical Missions in China and Japan. It is not unlikely that before many years

every Bishop will have a work of this kind in his See city, and that in every Mission there will be, as advised by Sir Bartle Frere, at least one "well trained practitioner, qualified to use his skill as an auxiliary to Mission work."

Prominent, however, as this work is rapidly becoming, nothing like a full review of the subject seems to have been given in any of our Church papers. The purpose of the present article is to supply, to some extent, that deficiency, by defining the term "Medical Missions," tracing briefly their origin and history, describing their methods, and stating some of their advantages and results.

DEFINITION.

By Medical Missions we mean systematic medical work in connection with and auxiliary to the preaching of the Gospel and the planting of the Church. The medical part of the work is that of physicians everywhere, the prevention and treatment of disease, and the instruction of students. The mission part of it is, by means of our good works to enforce the argument for our teaching, "by their fruit ye shall know them," and to illustrate the spirit of Christ, which is love to men.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

Medical Missions began with our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. From first to last He seems to have worked in the way described in Matt. iv. 23. "Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people."

It is related that, early in His ministry, at Capernaum, on the evening of a Sabbath-day, "all they that had any sick with divers diseases brought them unto Him; and He laid His hands on every one of them and healed them." [S. Luke, iv. 40.]

On the Sunday before the Friday of His Crucifixion, "The blind and the lame came to Him in the Temple; and He healed them." [Matt. xxi. 14.]

Of the numberless cures of bodily disease wrought by Him, seventeen are recorded by the Evangelists. They are as follows:

1. The healing of the nobleman's son.—John iv. 46—54.
2. The healing of the woman with an issue of blood.—Matt. ix. 20—22; Mark v. 25—34; Luke viii. 43—48.
3. The healing of the man sick of the palsy.—Matt. ix. 1—8; Mark ii. 8—12; Luke v. 11—25.
4. The healing of the two blind men in the house.—Matt. ix. 29—31.
5. The healing of the leper.—Matt. viii. 2, 8; Mark i. 40—42; Luke v. 12—18.
6. The healing of the centurion's servant.—Matt. viii. 5—13; Luke vii. 2—10.
7. The healing of Simon's wife's mother.—Matt. viii. 14, 15; Mark i. 30, 31; Luke iv. 38—39.
8. The healing of the impotent man at Bethesda.—John v. 2—15.
9. The healing of sight given to one born blind.—John ix. 1—7.
10. The healing of the man with the withered hand.—Matt. xii. 10, 11; Mark iii. 1—5; Luke vi. 6—10.
11. The healing of a man with a dropsy.—Luke xiv. 2—5.
12. The healing of the ten lepers.—Luke xvii. 11—18.
13. The healing of the Syrophenician woman's daughter.—Matt. xv. 21—28; Mark vii. 24—30.
14. The healing of one deaf and dumb.—Mark vii. 31—37.
15. The healing of the blind man at Bethsaida.—Mark viii. 23—26.
16. The healing of blind Bartimæus and another near Jericho.—Matt. xx. 29—34; Mark x. 46—52; Luke xviii. 35—43.
17. The healing of Malchus's ear.—Luke xxii. 50, 51.

Accounts are also given of Christ's cures of four cases of demoniacal possession:

1. The healing of the possessed in the country of the Gadarenes.—Matt. viii. 28—33; Mark v. 1—18; Luke viii. 26—33.
2. The healing of the demoniac in the synagogue.—Mark i. 23—27; Luke iv. 33—36.
3. The healing of a woman with a spirit of infirmity.—Luke xiii. 11—18, and verse 16.
4. The healing of the lunatic boy.—Matt. xvii. 14—18; Mark ix. 17—27; Luke ix. 37—43.

There are statements of the raising of three persons from the dead:

1. The raising of Jairus's daughter.—Matt. ix. 18—25; Mark v. 22—24; Luke viii. 41—43, 49—56.

2. The raising of the widow's son.—Luke vii. 11—15.
3. The raising of Lazarus.—John xi. 1—54.

Nine miracles are recorded which illustrate in various ways Christ's power over the forces of Nature. They have been called "Miracles of Providence."

1. The water turned into wine.—John ii. 1—11.
2. The first miraculous draught of fishes.—Luke v. 8—10.
3. The stilling of the tempest.—Matt. viii. 23—27; Mark iv. 35—41; Luke viii. 22—25.
4. The feeding of the five thousand.—Matt. xiv. 15—21; Mark vi. 35—44; Luke ix. 12—17; John vi. 5—18.
5. The walking on the water.—Matt. xiv. 22—32; Mark vi. 45—51; John vi. 16—21.
6. The feeding of four thousand.—Matt. xv. 32—39; Mark viii. 1—9.
7. The stater in the fish's mouth.—Matt. xvii. 24—27.
8. The second miraculous draught of fishes.—John xxi. 1—28.
9. The cursing of the barren fig tree.—Matt. xxi. 18—20; Mark xi. 12—14, 20—23.

Of Christ's miracles—thirty-three in all—especially mentioned by the Evangelists, twenty-four are thus seen to have been restorations of life and health, while the remainder were also, though in differing ways, works of benevolence. The only apparent exception is the withering of the barren fig tree, and as the probable object of that was to strengthen the feeble faith of the disciples, it need hardly be excepted.

On this subject, the Bishop of Rangoon has lately said, in an address before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

It appears that Christ came to save the whole man—body as well as soul. There is one continuous principle, like the prevailing tone in a symphony, running through the whole of His life and teaching. He who knew the very best plan for attracting attention, and securing submission to the Gospel, deliberately chose to appeal to the affections. Miracles were worked not for the display of divine power, but of divine love; or rather divine power was expressed by divine love, as is set forth in the Collect for the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity—"O God, who declarest Thy almighty power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity," &c. And the reason of this is plain. The exhibition of mere power could never enlist the affections. Men might be made to tremble before the majesty of the Almighty, but this would not win their love. To recommend the religion of love, Love became incarnate,

taught it by word and deed, and authorized, and enabled others to propagate this gospel of love by the very same means. *The succouring of the suffering was Christ's plan for recommending the Gospel.* It seems to me the Church is shut up to the very same principle; and if she neglects this in her Missionary operations, she is ignoring Christ's example and teaching.

It is easy to show that this kind of ministry, the doing of works of benevolence, and especially the healing of the sick in connection with the preaching of the Gospel was not intended by our Saviour to, characterize His personal work only. He instructed His disciples to act in the same way. He said:

As ye go, preach, saying: The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.—Matt. x. 7, 8.

Into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them: The Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.—Luke x. 8, 9.

The Apostles obeyed these commands.

S. Peter said to the lame man lying at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful:

Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk.—Acts iii. 6.

Another cripple was healed at Lystra [Acts xiv. 8—10.]

In Acts xix. 11, 12, we read:

And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul; so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

And again:

It came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever, and of a bloody flux: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him; so when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed.—Acts xxviii. 8, 9.

The power of miraculously curing disease was limited to the Apostolic age, or to very early times; but

the treatment of disease continued to be regarded as peculiarly a function of the Church.

Among the Apostolic Canons of the Church of Alexandria is one on the "Gifts of Healing."

In the Apostolic Constitutions of the Abyssinian Church occur three Canons whose titles are as follows:

- 8. De dono sanandi.
- 24. De cura Episcopi in aegrotos.
- 25. De eo cui injuncta est cura aegrotorum.

The eightieth canon of the Council of Nice enumerates the qualifications required to fill the office of Hospital Steward, and it is probable that in the middle of the fourth century every suffragan had a hospital under his direction. Eusebius mentions "Theodotus, a physician and Bishop of Laodicea, who, by his deeds, proved the reality of his name ('Given of God') and his office. First, he excelled in his knowledge of the medical art as applied to the body, and next, was skilled in the cure of the soul." Nemesius, Bishop of Emesa (A. D. 380), wrote learned medical treatises which are still extant. What Clement of Alexandria said of his Master was true of many of His servants in primitive times: "He was the complete Physician of human nature, curing both soul and body."

It would exceed the limits of this paper to attempt to trace the influences which gradually led to the divorcement of the practice of medicine from evangelistic work. The facts already stated seem, however, to show conclusively that in the purest and most aggressive age of the Church the kind of work we are now discussing was enjoined and everywhere practiced; that Medical Missions are of Christ's founding and authorizing, and are also Apostolic and Primitive.

There has never been a time when benevolence has not been as characteristic of Christian communities as distinguished from those not Chris-

tian. But never since the first days of the Church have men and women combined in such numbers in the name and for the love of Christ, to relieve the unfortunate and the suffering, as during the present century. The Hospital represents preëminently the spirit of the Christianity of to-day, as have done, in other ages, the monastery and the school of dialectics.

Not all hospitals are, however, even when administered, as is generally the case, by Christian men and communities, Medical Missions. Such only are properly so called as are used as evangelizing agencies. We have already alluded to work of this kind now being done in our diocesan and domestic mission field. It has, however, been in connection with foreign missions that it has thus far been principally employed, and of such employment the remainder of this article will treat.

The recent revival of Medical Missions seems to have been first suggested by observation of the effect upon heathen communities of occasional medical work done among them by Europeans. For example, in gratitude for the curing of his daughter by a surgeon of the East India Company, who was summoned to Delhi for that purpose in 1636, Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, granted the privilege of free trade with his subjects to the English. This was the virtual beginning of British power in the great Empire of India.

Early in the seventeenth century a Jesuit missionary at Peking cured the Emperor Kang-Shi of a fever by administering Peruvian bark. In return for this service the emperor built churches for the Romanists and protected them throughout the whole country. To the present day their bishops in some of the provinces of China wear upon their caps the buttons indicative of a high rank conferred upon their predecessors by Kang-Shi, and claim the privileges and immunities belonging to such position.

The first in modern times to undertake Medical

Mission work proper were Dr. Dalton and Dr. Dodge, who, the former in 1826, and the latter in 1834, were sent to Palestine, the former as agent of the Church of England "Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews," the latter of "The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." They both died in Jerusalem after very brief terms of service, but not until they had presented to the world, in the very place where the great Physician and Exemplar lived and died, a most literal fulfilment of His command to heal the sick and proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of God.

In 1835, Dr. Peter Parker was appointed by the "American Board" Medical Missionary to Canton, China, where his success was so great and rapid as to attract very wide-spread attention. In a country, whose name has for ages been a synonym for prejudice and intolerance of innovations, and at a time when the anti-foreign feeling was at its height, his hospital in Canton sprang at once into enormous popularity. The street on which it fronted was often crowded for long distances with patients on foot, on stretchers, and in sedan-chairs. On a few occasions one thousand patients were in attendance at one time. Respectable women sometimes sat all night in the street that they might be sure to be in time to get a ticket for admission next morning.

Dr. Parker's work was continued for twenty years, in the course of which he received abundant evidence of the esteem in which it was held both by the natives and the European colony. The Bishop of Pennsylvania, then a recent graduate in medicine, visited Canton during that period, and for several months gave assistance in the hospital. Bishop Stevens speaks enthusiastically of his experience, and quotes with approval the remark of a great English merchant of that day, that "Dr. Parker has done more by his hospital to open China to foreign trade than all the embassies of Lord Amherst."

In 1838, Drs. Lockhart and Hobson, of the "London

Missionary Society" began Medical Missions in Shanghai and vicinity, whose success was hardly less brilliant than that of Dr. Parker. Dr. Hobson has the distinction of having been the first to translate the series of scientific treatises upon medicine and surgery into the Chinese tongue. These have had a large circulation, and have been reprinted by the Chinese themselves, and read by large numbers of native physicians and *litterati*.

Many physicians in England and America were quick to see and embrace the opportunities for usefulness revealed to them by the experience of the pioneers just named, and the Order of Medical Missionaries now numbers hundreds of members working in all parts of the world. The names of some of them, as Elmslie, in Cashmere; Livingstone, in Africa; Kerr, in China, and Strachan, in Rangoon, are widely known; but, for the most part, their labors, like those of other missionaries, have been quietly pursued, and even such of their results as are capable of being recorded are known only to readers of the missionary periodicals. To some of these results we shall refer under another heading. Just here we must be content to sketch briefly the part taken by our own branch of the Church in Medical Missions.

This, until recently, has been somewhat slight and paroxysmal. Our first missionary to Africa, the Rev. Thomas S. Savage, M. D., was sent out in 1836, six months in advance of other missionaries, with the object of employing his medical knowledge in the selection of suitable sites for the stations and houses, and in supervision of all sanitary arrangements.

Dr. Savage was a corresponding member of several scientific societies, and a botanist of considerable attainments. He paid much attention to the health of the missionaries, but has left few records of his work among the natives.

Dr. G. A. Perkins, appointed in 1839, did some medical work in connection with our African mission.

In 1874, two young men, one Liberian and one

native, were brought from our schools in Africa to this country for education in medicine. By the liberality of the members of Christ Church, Detroit, Michigan, they were maintained in that city, where they pursued their studies under the skilful direction of Prof. H. W. Lyster. They graduated creditably from the medical department of the University of Michigan, and in 1877 went back to Africa as medical missionaries, but both died within three years after their return.

In 1860, Dr. Ernest Schmid was appointed Medical Missionary to Nagasaki, Japan, and labored there with great acceptance for three years. At the end of that time failure of health compelled his withdrawal.

In 1873, Dr. Henry Laning, formerly on the medical staff of the United States army, began the medical mission which he still carries on at Osaka, one of the principal cities of Japan. A hospital is now being built there at a cost of over \$8,000, the greater part of which amount was collected by the New York branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions. Some testimony to the value and efficiency of Dr. Laning's work will be quoted under the head of "Advantages and Results."

In 1868 a hospital, named S. Luke's, was established in connection with our mission in Shanghai, China, and has ever since been a valued auxiliary to our work in that city. Until lately the medical attendance has been by English and American surgeons, practicing in the foreign settlement of Shanghai, who have given gratuitously, though often at considerable personal sacrifice, their skillful services, and have treated a very large number of patients. A medical mission always needs, however, a medical missionary, and this the Shanghai station has had since 1880 in the person of Dr. Henry W. Boone, late Physician to the City and County Hospital of San Francisco, and a son of the first Bishop of China. At S. Luke's he last year treated two hundred and twenty-seven in-patients and over

seventeen thousand dispensary cases. He also directs a dispensary work at S. John's College, six miles distant, and at several country stations. The most promising feature of Dr. Boone's work is, however, the Medical School, which it is hoped will speedily develop into a well furnished college. A few members of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia, have lately given \$6,000 for the erection of a building for "S. John's College Medical School, in China, for the education of native physicians and surgeons, and the training of native nurses." All that can be said in favor of Medical Missions in China applies in full force to the training of a native medical faculty, and American Churchmen should be proud that our mission has the priority in this great enterprise.

In 1874 the present writer, then a physician in private practice, was appointed Medical Missionary to Wuchang, our principal mid-China station, situated on the Yang-tze river, six hundred miles from Shanghai. He remained there nearly five years, in the course of which he established a hospital for men and another for women and children, and treated an aggregate number of over forty thousand patients. In 1879 he was, for providential reasons, compelled to sever his connection with the mission, and was succeeded in 1881 by Dr. W. A. Deas, the then resident physician at the City Hospital of Richmond, Virginia. Last year, under Dr. Deas' direction, a new building was erected for "The Elizabeth Bunn Memorial Hospital for Women and Children," therefore carried on in a rented Chinese house. Funds for this building were collected by several branches of the Woman's Auxiliary, and yearly payments for the support of beds in the institution have been guaranteed by many parishes and individuals in this country. A female physician has lately been appointed to the charge of this hospital, and a trained nurse has been sent out to assist in it and to visit among Chinese women. There is every reason to

expect a great future for this as for all departments of our work at Wuchang.

METHODS.

The methods of work, of course, vary under different circumstances, but an outline of the plan pursued at any one place will probably show the essential features of all. I shall be excused, therefore, if I illustrate the subject out of my own experience at Wuchang. Several clergymen were in charge of the missionary station in that city when the medical work was begun in 1874, and it was in the chapel on the Fu-kai, one of the busiest streets of the city, where they went daily to preach, that the hospital work was initiated. As soon as possible a dispensary was built in the rear of this chapel and rude accommodations for a few in-patients improvised. Before this was done, however, many patients had been prescribed for and several operations performed in the chapel itself, which thus became what Dr. Muhlenberg called S. Luke's in New York, "a hospital church" rather than a Church hospital, and this idea we carried into our little hospital, built shortly afterwards on the mission compound. In the out-door department, every morning after the patients were assembled, there was a service of prayer and praise, and as my students and all the attendants were Christians and joined in it, as did often some of the patients, the responses were hearty and impressive. Then, after the singing of a hymn, a brief address was made, at first by one of the clergy, later by myself or my senior student. The address was the simplest possible statement of the principles of the doctrine of Christ, teaching Him as the Saviour both of men's souls and bodies, and ourselves His ministers, after His example, in His name, and by His power, trying to do them good. The better opportunities afforded in the case of in-patients were employed to convey more systematic and individual instruction and exhortation. Such efforts were in-

variably received with respect, and not infrequently elicited expressions of gratitude.

Patients unable to come to the hospital were attended at their homes, as were persons of rank, who sent their sedan-chairs with attendants to convey the physician.

ADVANTAGES AND RESULTS.

We propose to consider these with reference

1st. To the natives generally of the several countries where we have Missions.

2nd. To the cause of Christianity and civilization.

First. Advantages to the natives generally.

Under this head we shall treat only of what is done for them in the prevention and treatment of disease. While no statistics are here offered of the amount of good done in this direction, it is certain that it is almost incalculably great, and that Medical Missions are at the present time among the chief means for allaying human suffering. No heathen people has any considerable knowledge of the means for preventing or curing disease. In China, for example, although there are physicians, there is no medical science, nor a medical faculty to collate and transmit the results of even empirical practice. Consequently, many substances are used which are totally inert, as ginseng, the most valued by them of all drugs; and many disgusting preparations, as of centipedes, snakes' skins and tigers liver and blood, which are supposed to convey the strength and energy of the living animal. They give hardly any treatment to women, and the mortality in child-birth is very large. They practice no surgery, do not set fractures, reduce dislocations or puncture abscesses. Superstitious practices are often combined with, or take the place of, the doctor's medicines.

It requires no argument to show the beneficence of scientific medical practice among such a people.

Secondly. Advantages to the cause of Christianity

and civilization. We will consider these under several heads.

(a) *The conservation of the health of missionaries and their families.*

Missionaries in heathen lands often pursue their vocation at great peril to life and health. As comparatively few persons are found willing to undergo such risks, it is of the last importance that the risks be made as slight as possible, and that the energies of those who do offer themselves should be economized to the utmost. These ends are gained by having a medical man at each station, and with every large itinerant expedition. He can advise as to the selection of sites for houses and schools, and in regard to all sanitary measures, and give the attention to the health of his colleagues for which his knowledge both of their constitutions and environment will specially qualify him.

(b) *The conservation of the health of our native clergymen, catechists, and teachers, pupils in our schools, and all the converts to Christianity.*

Most of what was said under the last heading applies, also, here. Every one of these persons is a centre of Christian influence, and the extent of that influence will, of course, be largely dependent upon the prolongation of his life and the preservation of his health. For our pupils we are, moreover, under special obligations to do the best that is possible in every way. We have assumed for the time being the relationship of guardians to them, and have removed them from the protection of their parents. If many of them die, or become broken down in health while with us, we are held accountable, and the result may be disastrous; as happened at Tien-Tsin, China, in 1870, when a large mortality in a Roman Catholic orphanage led the ignorant populace, under the incitement of a few demagogues, to massacre the French colony.

There is still another reason for guarding with great care the health of heathen converts, especially

those who are converted from a condition of barbarism. With them the embracing of Christianity has always, so far as I know, been followed by the adoption of certain customs supposed, though perhaps not with sufficient reason, to be necessary accompaniments of civilization, such as the wearing of much more clothing, and living more in-doors than before. Rapid changes of this kind are very dangerous to life and health, as shown in the experience of the Sandwich Islanders. Within a single generation they passed from a condition of savagery to that of subjects of a kingdom founded on the best European models. The mortality during the transition stage was, however, terrible, the native population decreasing from one hundred and forty-two thousand to fifty thousand; and though the change in the manner of life of the people was by no means the only cause of this mortality it was among the chief causes. The present King of the Sandwich Islands, Kalakaua, in a private letter to a friend in New York used the following language:

The one great object of the instructors of our pupils was to save their souls from perdition; they left the human clay to rot. The error, if you may call it so, seems to put a blot upon the whole good that has been done by the Missionaries. They have done good in certain things no one can deny; but they have left undone those things which they ought to have done.

One precept of the medical profession, "Do no harm," might well be adopted by all Christian Missionaries, and we cannot be sure of avoiding the repetition of such an experience as that just referred to, when dealing with, for example, the natives of Africa, unless we have physicians on our missionary staff in that country.

(c) *The removal of prejudice on the part of the natives against ourselves and our work.*

This prejudice is often the greatest and an almost insurmountable obstacle to even getting a hearing for the Gospel in heathen countries. The natives, influenced either by ignorance of the character of

foreigners, or, as is equally likely, by dearly acquired knowledge of some bad phases of it, either despise, or fear, or detest us. No agency can well be imagined better calculated to remove opposition from these causes than the Medical Mission. It gives the people a good which they can and do heartily appreciate; assuring them that we, at least, mean well by them; making them ashamed to class us with enemies, when we have already proved ourselves their benefactors, or to refuse to give us a fair hearing when we tell them that we have still greater blessings than the healing of their bodily ailments to offer them. From many testimonials that Medical Missions are thus efficient in overcoming prejudice, we quote two only. Bishop Burdon (English), of Hong Kong, says:

We are to the Chinese simply "foreign devils." Perhaps by some of our acts, notably the forcing, in the first instance, of our opium traffic upon them, and so fastening a monster evil upon the country which seems sometimes hopelessly irremediable, we have almost deserved the epithet. But whether this be so or not, the hostile feeling often manifested by the Chinese against us is a fact, and this must be softened or removed before our teaching can be expected to be listened to. Their pride is another source of their prejudice. They believe China to be the centre of civilization, and will not acknowledge that foreign barbarians can have anything to teach them. Medical Missions let in new light on this ignorance and hatred and pride, and prepare the way for the best Light of all. Medical Missionaries, truly qualified in their profession and as evangelists, are the proper pioneers of the Church in such a land.

The Rev. Mr. Sayres, of Wuchang, wrote last year that in conversation with a Chinese of the literary class, the latter told him that when foreigners first came there there was great enmity against them, but that all that was now changed. He attributed the change largely to the influence of the Hospital, and Mr. Sayres believes that he was correct in so doing.

(d) The bringing of missionaries into contact with all classes.

In many countries Christian ministers and teachers have few or no means of gaining access to

the higher classes of the people. Medical missionaries are, on the contrary, often consulted and invited to the houses of even the highest members of the nobility. Li Hung Chang, the great Chinese Viceroy, General, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, is one of the patrons of the London Mission Hospital at Tien-Tsin, and his wife was recently attended in a severe illness by two medical missionaries.

(e) The collection of large congregations of patients, who, while waiting to be seen by the physicians at the Mission Hospitals, can be instructed in Christianity.

Dr. Boone writes:

All the native clergymen say that the daily services held in the large waiting-room of the Hospital are attended by a larger number of persons than are to be found at any of the chapels, and that these persons are of all ranks—from the mandarin and the very rich man to the poorest of the poor. Men, women and children go there day after day, and some for weeks. There they have the Gospel preached to them at a time when pain, sorrow and illness render their minds peculiarly open to religious impressions, and they are feeling grateful to that religion which offers them relief for both mind and body, "without money and without price."

(f) The conversion of patients.

We have thus far considered Medical Missions as clearing the way for, and auxiliary to, other kinds of missionary work. When thus employed, as is generally the case, their influence in bringing men to a saving knowledge of Christ is supplemented by the instruction and exhortations of teachers and preachers, and its extent is, therefore, difficult to determine. In very many cases, however, this way of preaching the Gospel is known to have been directly influential in bringing men to Christ. Of this most important fact we adduce a few examples. Our own Bishop Williams, of Japan, wrote in 1880:

The influence of Dr. Laning's work in building up the Church is beginning to manifest itself. One-half of those baptized this year were led into the Church through their connection with him.

The Rev. J. McKim, of our mission at Osaka, writes:

I consider the work of Dr. Laning the most important we have. Through it the greater number of our communicants has been added to the Church.

Dr. Gauld writes from Swatow:

Lately four young men were baptized in the hospital.

The editor of the *Gospel in China*, speaks of Dr. Gauld's work as

A work as interesting in its medical aspects as it has proved to be fruitful in its bearing on the salvation of individual souls, and on the general advancement of Christ's kingdom in the region occupied by the Mission.

Dr. Thompson writes from Neyoor, Travancore:

Four or five families from Payankull, who came ill with jungle fever, were admitted into the hospital as in-door patients. In about a fortnight they all recovered and at once renounced heathen worship, and are now regular attendants in the congregation at Payankull.

Dr. Thompson speaks of a patient who became a Christian, "and was, by the blessing of God, the means of bringing twenty-five of his relations to Christ." Again he writes of the baptism of Sinoo, who, "is now always speaking about Christ to others. Many have been lead by him to forsake heathenism."

Dr. Chamberlain was out with a traveling dispensary. He writes:

We had been out five weeks, when, at the close of our earnest pleading for our Master one morning, in a village of Māla cultivators and weavers, the headman stepped out, saying, "Put my name down as a Christian," and nine other heads of families joined in the request.

CONCLUSION.

If the preceding sketch has given a fair statement of the authority for and the advantages of Medical Missions, it is certainly safe to predict for them a much wider employment in the future than at present. In our own Foreign Mission fields there is

even now urgent need for several more medical men, of whom at least one should be sent to Shanghai to coöperate with Dr. Boone in his extensive work, particularly in the department of medical education; one to Tokio, the See city of Bishop Williams; and another to each of our two principal stations in Africa. Each of these may be, as it is the privilege of every true medical missionary to be, not only a physician but an Evangelist—preaching, as did our Saviour and His first disciples, the Gospel of healing for the body, and by it illustrating and commending the Gospel of salvation for the soul.

ALBERT CARRIER BUNN.

EDUCATION IN CHINA.

ANY estimate of the influence made by the Western mind on the Chinese nation must give special consideration to the mental status of this people. We are not dealing with a barbarous race which has only rudimentary ideas, and is, like a *tabula rasa*, to be written upon according to the will of the instructor. The oldest nation in the world, their ideas on the leading subjects affecting their lives are rooted in an antiquity which is contemporary with the early monarchies of Egypt and Assyria. Hence, Occidental civilization and religious thought find in China a country already filled with its own varied life in these departments of mental activity. But there is a further aspect in which China may be regarded as differing from countries possessing about the same degree of culture. In Japan we have an instance of a nation with an equal amount of civilization to that of China, yet during the past few years we have watched with surprise the avidity with which that whole nation has been casting aside native habits and has been adopting foreign ideas. The fact that anything was Western, has been enough to insure its welcome, even if it had no great inherent value. In China the reverse is true. This contrast is, of course, due to many reasons, among which is the vast difference between the size and population of the two countries, for in either of these two respects, Japan might easily be only a Chinese province. Then we must also bear in mind that the literature of Japan is based upon that of China, the Wen Li, or book language of the latter

country, forming the highest literary standard of the Japanese. All that enters into the life of the Chinese is thus seen to be more indigenous to the soil than is the case in the "Land of the Rising Sun," and we can understand why they should be more loath to yield to the pressure of foreign influence.

The relation of China to the Western mind is thus seen to be a far more complex question than is the case with barbarous countries, or even with countries upon whom their national traditions sit as lightly as upon the Japanese. Therefore, if we are to appreciate the present attitude of the Chinese towards Western culture, and the shape it is likely to assume in the future, we must give some attention to their native system of education, their subjects of study, and the inducements which that system holds out to them.

The literature of China is very wide in its range and varied in its scope; comprehending the classics, works on history, books of poetry and belles-lettres, novels and treatises on religion; and dealing with the various other subjects which have come under their notice. Among this varied collection the Wu King, Five Classics, and Sz' Shu, Four Books, hold the foremost place. Upon these books, year after year, the candidates for literary degrees are examined; and they are regarded as the sum of all that is best in Chinese literature and morals. Their contents include diverse subjects, such as philosophy, history, biography, poetry and morals. The first of the Five Classics is the Yih King, the Book of Changes, an abstruse philosophical treatise, which also deals with the subject of the first cause. Next stands the Shu King, a historical work, compiled chiefly from existing records by Confucius. The Shi King, or Book of Odes, was also edited by Confucius, and is composed of four parts, National Airs, Lesser and Greater Eulogies, and Songs of Praises. The Li King, or Book of Rites, is the most important of Five King. It has had more influence upon the life and customs

of the Chinese than any of the others, and in its precepts applies to the inward nature as well as the outward acts. The Board of Rites in Peking exists for the purpose of carrying into effect its regulations.

These four works existed before the era of Confucius. He edited them, and transmitted them to posterity.

But the Fifth Classic he himself wrote. It is a historical record covering a few hundred years before his own time, and is called the Chun Tsiu, or Spring and Autumn Annals, because "their commendations are life-giving like Spring and the censures life-withering like Autumn."

The Chinese value the Four Books equally with the Five King. They are much simpler, and hence far more easily understood by the general mind. Their titles are the Ta Hioh, Great Learning; the Chung Yung, Doctrine of the Mean; Lun Yu, Confucian Sayings, and Mung Tsz, the Works of Mencius. The Ta Hioh opens with a paragraph attributed to Confucius, in which he discusses the relation of good government to personal self-control in the individual. This is then followed by comments drawn from various sources. The Chung Yung illustrates in the character of the Kiun-tsz, or Princely Man, the value of avoiding extremes. The Kiun-tsz is supposed to be perfect in all matters of propriety. The Lun Yu is the most interesting of the Four Books, since it contains a miscellaneous collection of the sayings and doings of Confucius, and in the writings of Mencius we have his political morality and instructions as well as a vivid picture of the character of his life.

This is a summary of the contents of the nine works which probably have influenced a greater number of lives than any other books. The exclusive value which the Chinese set upon them can scarcely be appreciated by one who has not mingled with the people in their own land. Chi Hwang-ti, the founder of the Tsin Dynasty (B. C. 249-246), wished that all records of times before his own accession to the

throne might perish, in order that he should be regarded as the first monarch of China. He therefore ordered the burning of every book in the empire, and that special care should be taken to prevent any of the writings of Confucius and Mencius from escaping. Almost five hundred literati were also buried to death, in order that no scholar might survive to transmit to after ages the account of his barbarity. But even had he succeeded in carrying out his will, and every book in the empire had perished in the flames, there would still have remained numbers of persons who would have been able to write down from memory accurate copies of the Chinese Classics, and so to-day, were every volume of the Classics blotted out of existence, thousands of scholars would be able to reproduce them *verbatim, literatim, et punctuatim*. This fact will convey some idea of the position which the great literary standard of China holds in the minds of the people. There is probably no country in the world in which any book has been studied so painstakingly and universally by the reading classes as the Confucian Classics have been in China.

But there is another reason beyond their mere reverence for these books which leads the Chinese to pay such exclusive attention to them. Official promotion in China is based upon a system of literary examinations, and these examinations are almost exclusively upon the Classics, and subjects of which they treat. This system was adopted by the Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang Dynasty, who reigned in the first half of the seventh century. Consequently it has been in existence twelve centuries and a half.

In the Chinese written language each word is represented by a separate character. Kang-hi's Imperial Dictionary contains about forty thousand characters. In Dr. Williams' Chinese-English Dictionary there are about twelve thousand. Very few, whether natives or foreigners, learn anything like this number. Dr. Schereschewsky, the present Bishop of Shanghai, is one of these few. A knowledge of about five thou-

sand will enable one to read the Classics; that is, there are about that number of different words in the Classics. Hence, the pupil's preliminary step in his education is to learn the vast number of characters by which he can have access to the national literature. After the plodding and mechanical study of years he is ready to compete with thousands of his fellow-countrymen for the literary degrees, without which it is not possible to hold office under the government. There are, properly speaking, three degrees, although there is still a fourth examination for admission to the Han Lin or Imperial Academy. In China foreigners usually refer to these degrees by their native names. These are Siu Tsai, Beautiful Ability; Kù Jen, Advanced Men; Tsin Tsz, Entered Scholars. In order to give some idea of their relative rank and value, they are generally translated respectively, Bachelor, Master, Doctor; only it must be borne in mind that the distinction between Siu Tsai and Kù Jen is real, and not merely nominal, as it is ordinarily with Bachelor and Master of Arts in this country.

Three examinations must be passed in order to graduate as Bachelor. The first of these is held in the chief town of the *hien*, or district, the smallest territorial division in China. Those who attend write each an essay, and the writers whose essays are accepted are permitted to be present at the second examination, which is held in the chief town of the *fu*, or department, under the superintendence of the literary chancellor of the province. These two examinations are preliminary to that before the literary chancellor in the provincial capital, which is the final test, and at which the successful candidates become graduates of the first degree and have the title Sin Tsai conferred upon them. They have now entered the first grade of Chinese social life, in which there is no aristocracy, save that of learning. They are exempt from corporal punishment, and are regarded as the chief men in the village where they live. They

are, however, not yet eligible to enter the government service. For this it is still necessary to pass on to the second degree of Kū Jen. The examination for it are held simultaneously in the provincial capitals, before two Imperial Commissioners, every third year, on the ninth, twelfth and fifteenth days of the ninth moon, which fall about the middle of September. The candidates are carefully searched before being admitted to the examination hall, in order that no helps of any kind may be carried in with them. On the first day four subjects for essays are given which are taken from the Four Books. On the second day four subjects, drawn from the Five Classics, are allotted. The essays on these must be written in a deeper style, so as to harmonize with the deeper Wen Li of the Five Classics. On the last day the candidates are obliged to discuss five questions relating to government. Hence, in these essays there is room for much wider scope than in those of the two preceding days. The Commissioners are allowed twenty-five days for the examination of the essays, and then the names of the successful candidates are publicly called by a crier at midnight, some time about the tenth of the ninth moon. The number who triennially receive the degree of Kū Jen in the Empire is said to be about thirteen hundred. The examinations for the third degree of Tsin Tsz occur every three years, at Peking. The methods on this occasion and the themes of the essays are much the same as the examination for Kū Jen. Only those Kū Jen who have not already entered upon official life are admitted to it, and the number receiving the degree of Tsin Tsz, or Doctor, each time is said to vary from one hundred and fifty to four hundred. Their names are inscribed on the list of those awaiting promotion to office, and as vacancies occur they are filled up from the men whose names are on this list. The examinations for the Han Lin is held triennially, in the Emperor's palace, by high state dignitaries. In its character it does not differ from those preceding it. The successful aspir-

ants are inscribed as members of the Imperial Academy.

In this brief review of the literary standards and education of the Chinese, we have seen that the works which they value are native to China, so that they reasonably arouse in the people a national feeling of pride. Their origin is, to a great degree, discovered in a very remote antiquity, while the latest addition to them is as early as the era of Mencius, who flourished B. C. 350. Moreover, they are the sole regular avenue to the highest grade of society and official rank, since candidates for literary degrees are examined upon subjects drawn from them. To the practical mind of the Chinese this is the strong influence which operates in their studies. The poorest man may hold out before himself the hope of becoming the highest mandarin in the empire. In this respect, China is quite as democratic as the United States. This extremely *practical* bent of the Chinese cannot be too strongly dwelt upon. Probably, there never was a people who, in their every-day life, more earnestly and more shrewdly considered what advantage everything in life might be turned to. Probably, no nation, nor the individuals composing it, ever existed who more carefully scrutinized every innovation, whatever its character, with the inquiry *cui bono*. The Chinese are thorough utilitarians. This is a principle which lies at the foundation of their whole social life, and although many of their customs and habits are superstitious and absurd, the reason why the Chinese practice them is, nevertheless, because they hope to derive some material advantage from them. To a people thus inspired by so utilitarian a spirit, the national mode of securing office offers every inducement to become an educated man and obtain a literary degree. This is the condition in which we find Chinese education to be apart from any foreign influence. We must now consider what effect contact with foreign nations and foreign intellectual forces has had, and is still likely to have

upon the government and people. Before dwelling specifically upon its influence upon the particular matter of education, we must notice for a moment the general relation of the Chinese nation to foreigners, and how foreign influence has, as a whole, been received by them, and we shall then be prepared better to understand how they have regarded and are still likely to be affected by Western education and science. The well-known fact of Chinese exclusiveness has become almost a proverb. Intercourse with foreigners was forced upon them in the beginning, and were it possible, they would probably now shut it all out from the middle kingdom. Hence, it may easily be inferred that they would have as little as possible to do with foreign customs and ways. To what extent, then, if at all, have the latter prevailed, or are they likely to prevail in China? The reply must be, to the extent of their utility to the Chinese. This is illustrated in many ways, both as regards the government and the people. We may first cite the example furnished by the reorganization of the Chinese army. Defeated many times by Western nations, they learned at last the futility of attempting to engage in warfare according to their old native methods, and foreign tactics were adopted.

The "China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company" supplies another instance in point. Not being able to avert foreign trade, and seeing it all in the hands of foreigners, this company was organized with the aid of a heavy Government subsidy—the mandarins being interested in the scheme—for the purpose of turning the trade as far as possible into Chinese hands. The fleet of Russell & Co. was bought by them, and now steamers sailing under the Chinese flag are plying up and down the coast, while only one insignificant little steamer, the *Ping An*, is the sole remnant of the American coast and river steamers which once sailed in Chinese waters. It was rumored that the "China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company" would also open a line to San

Francisco. The same is true with regard to trade in the open ports. When in the East, one constantly hears the fact lamented that the Chinese are slowly but surely driving out the foreigners, and that the latter are gradually becoming their brokers. Finding out how much profit is to be derived from trade and learning its pecuniary utility, they have engaged largely in it, while their manner of life is so much simpler and their rate of living so incomparably cheaper than anything to which a foreigner can attain, that they have an immense advantage over him. Then, again, the prospect of such a crisis as a war with Russia revealed to the Chinese several points in which it would have been of great use to them to have been supplied with Western appliances. For example, the telegraph reached only to Shanghai, not even extending to Peking, the capital, nor to Nanking and Wuchang, the most important cities of the interior. Then the troops in the interior had to be transported by a very circuitous water route from the inner provinces to a point near Newchwang, where the Chinese forces were concentrated; whereas a railroad running North from some central point would have accomplished their transit far more conveniently and quickly. The threatenings of war were scarcely averted when rumors began to reach us at Shanghai of a proposed telegraph to connect Peking, if not with Shanghai, at least with the seaboard at Tientsin, and that probably a railroad would be built from Nanking running North to the capital. Advices from China report the carrying out of the telegraph scheme, and we may rest assured that the railroad will be built in time. Thus the Chinese are being aroused to the utility and value of railroads and telegraphs. Again, in its unavoidable intercourse with foreign powers, the government found itself in need of men trained for that purpose. The desire to supply this deficiency led to the establishment of the Tungwen College, or Imperial College for Western Languages and Sciences; and to the sending of the

Chinese Commission to this country, which, however, the government has just recalled. Another interesting fact occurred not much more than three years ago. The wife of Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy of Chihli, was dangerously ill, and her case was given up by the native doctors. Two missionary physicians, one of them a lady at Tientsin, were sent for as a last resort, and under their treatment Lady Li recovered. The Viceroy and other Chinese became very practically aware of the superiority of foreign medical science over the native practice, and as a result they have built a hospital for Chinese in Tientsin, and placed it under the control of the London Mission.

The same principle of adopting what is foreign according to its necessity and utility, which has characterized the government and mandarins, applies also to the people. There are many ways in which socially the latter are as well off as they are and in which a change would scarcely be desirable. They are an oriental people, in their physical as well as mental constitution, differing from Western peoples. There are, therefore, some departments in which Western civilization would not be expedient for them. Their costume is better adapted to them and more becoming to them than the European dress could be. In the arrangement and regulation of their homes they are better off than they would be by change. There would be no advantage gained by altering much of their social customs and etiquette. Indeed, it would be impossible to do this, for the population is so enormous that, with few exceptions, they must live in a very frugal way. Still there are some ways in which they can better their present condition. There are many small improvements which they can introduce into their domestic economy, such as using foreign lamps, clocks, and other household utensils. Yet it is only as they test the practical benefit of these things that they adopt them.

Holding in view this utilitarian characteristic of the Chinese, there is another principle which we must notice before considering foreign education in China, and that is the parental nature of the government. The Emperor is called the *Fu Mu* of the people; that is the *parent*, literally translated *father-mother*. This idea of the nourishing care exercised by the superior over the inferior extends through all grades of society. And again the converse is true. The younger and inferior are bound to show deference and respect to those above them. Hence, in any important matter, the people would naturally wait for the government to act first, and then would follow its lead. Yet they would not be likely to fall in with anything which the government adopted, except in so far as it would be practically beneficial to them. Therefore, in the matter of foreign education, we might naturally expect that its utility and the attitude of the government towards it would be the two considerations which would weigh in the Chinese mind. It remains for us to examine into the efforts which have been made to introduce foreign education into the middle kingdom.

These efforts naturally fall under four heads, viz.: What has been attempted by the Romanists, by the government, by Protestant Missions, and by the publication of books.

The commencement of Romish Missions in China properly begins with the arrival of Matteo Ricci in the country in 1581; for, although John de Monte Corvino was sent out about three hundred years earlier, his labors seem to have been chiefly among the Mongols, and the mission founded by him only lasted temporarily. Ricci was a man of real genius, and had much versatility of talent. His character has been shown in very differing lights by members of his own communion, and taking these varying representations in connection with his course of conduct, one is led to the conclusion that, while possessed of great earnestness and perseverance, his course was

marked by flexibility of conscience and want of moral discernment. By slow degrees he rose in favor with the mandarins, and was finally permitted to go to Peking, where he enjoyed the high favor and consideration of the Emperor. He was joined by many missionaries, who belonged, as did he himself, to the Jesuit order. They were indefatigable in their labors, both in making converts and translating. It is said that, by the year 1636, as many as three hundred and forty books had been translated. Most of these were on natural science and mathematics. Ricci died in 1608, after having been instrumental in making a large number of converts, who were found among the high as well as the low classes. Among his successors, the two who obtained far the most influence were Schaal and Verbiest. The former pointed out to the Emperor the inaccuracies of the Chinese calendar and the incapacity of those in charge of it. This resulted in his being made president of the astronomical board, and he was treated with much distinction. In the meantime, the Ming dynasty was overthrown, and was succeeded by the present Tsing dynasty. Under the first Emperor, Schunchi, the Romanists were still favorably regarded, but after the accession of the great Kanghi, many dissensions sprung up among them, which, added to their political schemes, brought them into great disfavor with the government. Even Schaal, who had been the young Kanghi's tutor, was deprived of his post, and he died soon after. When the Emperor had grown old enough to assume control over the government, the Romanists once more enjoyed the favor of the court. Verbiest was given the position of astronomer formerly occupied by Schaal. But this prosperity was only temporary. The government gradually became suspicious and distrustful of them, and at length, in 1724, Yunching issued an edict requiring all the missionaries to leave the country. Only those Romanists whom he employed at Peking for scientific purposes were permitted to remain. From this time until

the opening of China, a comparatively few years ago, the history of Romish Missions there is one of secrecy and stealth. Only by the most cautious concealment of foreign priests were they able to obtain the necessary help and direction from abroad, while all influence with the court, and all direct influence with non-Christian Chinese, ceased during this interval. At the present time earnest efforts to gather in converts are made by Romanists. Numerous schools have been established by them, among others a large establishment near Shanghai. But it is only their own converts who come within the influence of their educational schemes. The education, too, which is dispensed by them is of a rather questionable character, judging from historical statements which the writer knows have emanated from them, as well as from the fact that the scientific works translated by Ricci, Verbiest and Schaal are altogether out of date.

This brief survey of Romish Missions shows that they have in no way influenced the education of the Chinese. The government was glad to make use of the scientific attainments of a few leading men, two and three hundred years ago, but they failed to effect a permanent foothold. Among the people, only their own converts have profited by any scientific training which they have to offer; and although these converts are said to number half a million, what are these among the teeming millions of the population of China? Moreover, considering the fact that they are suspected and distrusted by the Chinese, it is not likely that in the future Western science and education will sustain any advancement among the Chinese by reason of their efforts.

The Tungwen College at Peking was the result of the need felt by the government for foreign officials in its intercourse with foreign nations. The students who pass through a certain prescribed course are sure to receive some post under the government, and the writer has understood that during the time of their study they are in the receipt of a salary which is

more than sufficient to cover their personal expenses. There are certain studies which are optional with them, over and above the prescribed course which all must follow; but, curiously enough, great difficulty is experienced in persuading any of the students to take up a study outside of those which are required, or to spend a longer period in study than the time which is exacted of them. All this illustrates what has before been said of the utilitarian tendency of the Chinese mind. The students will study so much and so long as is necessary to secure the coveted position in the government service. Beyond that point they do not wish to go. The government has also established other schools in different cities, among which there is one at the arsenal near Shanghai. The students who attend them receive a salary of taels 7 (about \$8.50) per month, with the prospect of employment when their studies are completed. There is consequently no lack of students, for such arrangements are just suited to the practical bent of the Chinese.

Until within the last few years no educational establishment upon a large scale had been attempted by any of the Protestant Missionary bodies. Although it may have been often thought of, it remained for the Bishop of Shanghai, of the American Episcopal Mission, to attempt to carry it into effect. Bishop Schereschewsky, while in this country six years ago, insisted very earnestly upon the necessity of his Mission establishing a college in China, in which education might be carried on to a higher degree among native converts, and which might also afford to the heathen natives the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of Western science. Only by untiring perseverance was he able to gain a sufficient pecuniary support in this country to set on foot the undertaking upon his return to China three years ago. Here there was valuable material on which to begin in the advanced students of two excellent schools, which had long been under the control of the Mission; and these

constituted the basis of S. John's College. A suitable site was obtained four miles from Shanghai, and the necessary buildings erected. A course of study was laid out embracing the following subjects: English language and literature, mental and moral philosophy, logic, international law, mathematics, natural science, chemistry, astronomy, history, geography, and Christian evidences. In connection with the college there are also a medical and theological school. The requirements for admission are the "Four Books," and the ability to write simple essays. Any one who could meet this demand would be considered a fair scholar in Chinese. The studies mentioned above include some branches which would be pursued at home before entering college; but it must be borne in mind, that such a thing as a preparatory school does not exist in China. To meet this deficiency, the term of study is made to cover six years. In the beginning there were enough boys sufficiently advanced to constitute the first two of what would eventually be six yearly classes, while those who could not meet the requirements for admission were regarded as constituting a preparatory department. It must also be borne in mind that those who enter the college still continue the study of the Chinese Classics in addition to the foreign branches already mentioned. The college answered its end admirably, so far as carrying on the education of converts was concerned, so much so, in fact, that the Methodists of Foochow and the Presbyterians of Shantung Province propose to establish similar institutions. But to the offer to the heathen natives of a foreign education, but little response has yet been made. There were, indeed, a number of applications, but when it was learned that English was not exclusively studied, these were withdrawn. In all the foreign ports, and wherever the natives came in contact with the foreigners, they must possess some knowledge of English, and it enables them to fill many business positions for which they would otherwise be incompetent. Such a

knowledge as some have amounts to no more than the doggerel "pidgin," or business English, a barbarous dialect, composed chiefly of English words put together after a fashion, according to Chinese syntax. The pecuniary advantages of an acquaintance with English are so fully understood by the Chinese, that a school in Shanghai, established for teaching English alone, is unable to admit all who apply. When it was found that candidates for admission to S. John's College were unwilling to pursue any foreign study except English, it was determined to open a department in which only English should be taught. The result was, that all vacancies in the college were soon filled, and further applications were, with much regret, necessarily refused. This experience wonderfully illustrates Chinese utilitarianism. A genuine effort was made to extend to the natives the study of Western science; but they could not see its utility. When, however, the opportunity of learning English was offered, they were eager to embrace it, for of that they could make pecuniary use.

The translation and publication of books forms a most important department in the work of spreading Western science in China. As was before said, those prepared by the early Romanists are too much out of date to be useful now. But many valuable works are being put into Chinese by missionaries engaged in education, and also at the translating department at the Kiangnan Arsenal near Shanghai, while what is called the "School and Text-Book Series" is now being prepared. Some of the books of this series have already been issued, and works on medicine and almost all scientific subjects are included in it. These books are now of value for their use in the Government and Mission Schools, but not among the people at large. The time will come, however, when the Chinese mind will be aroused to an appreciation of the utility of foreign science, and they will then be of incalculable value. Like all efforts which are

made to introduce Western knowledge into China, this one has the future in view as much as the present.

The review which we have made of the national system of education, and the inducements which it holds out to the utilitarian Chinese mind, taken in connection with the native's lack of appreciation of the value of Western science, sufficiently accounts for their disinclination to avail themselves of opportunities to make an acquaintance with it. There are, indeed, individuals who are imbued with the idea of its value; but it is only in so far as the government has found it necessary to adopt some few foreign innovations in education that the people have followed. And, indeed, it is doubtful how far the masses have taken in these innovations, for they do not in any way affect the regular course of education, and so long as that remains as it is, the force and energy of the bulk of the people will naturally make that their event. What is to be hoped and anticipated is, that the government will gradually become aroused to the necessity of including in its course of study for literary degrees, some useful branches of Western knowledge. In this way the attention of the masses being necessarily directed to the subject, its usefulness will slowly become apparent to them. It is much to be regretted that the Chinese Educational Mission should have been withdrawn from America, for although there is a tendency with Chinese educated abroad to become too much foreignized and denationalized to retain much sympathy for their home life and the mass of the people, yet being drawn from the higher classes, and educated under the government patronage, upon returning to China their views and opinions would have weight with the officials. There are, however, indications that the government will be brought to a full appreciation of the advantage of Western education. The establishment of the Tungwen College and other schools before alluded to was a step in ad-

vance. Another significant fact occurred three years ago. A distinguished American, in the employ of the government in the Tungwen College, when returning for a visit to this country, bore with him a commission to examine into European universities, and to report the result of his investigations upon his return to Peking.

When an active interest in Western science shall begin to dawn upon the Chinese nation, the educational institutions already established and books translated will be of the highest importance and value to the people at large, and no pains should be spared to make every effort in this direction as perfect as possible. Meanwhile, it may be, it probably will be, only by slow degrees that a full awakening to Western light and the truth will come to China. But, like all achievements which are gradual in their processes, it will be all the more sure when it is accomplished, and when what is brought to the Chinese by the West is combined with their own great worth, the result must be one of the greatest and mightiest nations of the future.

DANIEL M. BATES.

RECENT LITERATURE.

A Church History, to the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. 4 Vols. By Chr. Wordsworth, D. D., Bishop of Lincoln. New York: James Pott.

The concluding volumes of this noble history are worthy of its opening. The impression of the whole is perfectly free from that which too often meets us in other works of the same kind; where the author has freshly *crammed* for his task, and where the absence of organic continuity tells the tale from beginning to end; or where the gradual growth in the author himself makes the end of the work very different in tone from the beginning of it. With Bishop Wordsworth we have "wine on the lees well refined :"—we have the full familiarity with the subject for a lifetime, strengthened, cleared, enriched, with constantly added streams of knowledge from various sources, and the perfect mastery of beginning, middle and end, even before a line of the work itself is written. The full dogmatic system of the Church, as expressed in the definitions of the first four undisputed General Councils, forms the bony skeleton of the whole, on which the flesh and blood of the history is builded up, with a completeness that leaves nothing to be desired—*as far as it goes*. But here is the only fault we have to find. Why stop with the Council of Chalcedon? The definitions of the Fifth and Sixth General Councils are also "undisputed." The entire discussion in the first Lambeth conference turned upon this point—whether "*the first four*" should alone be recognized, or whether those other "undis-

puted" councils should be included also: and by settling on the latter phrase, the entire Auglican Communion—no part of which has since objected to it—has taken this position before all Christendom, and is bound to maintain it. We earnestly hope, therefore, that the learned and admirable Bishop of Lincoln may yet be able to continue his work *at least* through the *Sixth* General Council.

But while asking for this, as the highest compliment we can pay to the part already accomplished, we may as well go further, and beg that the story may be extended through the terrible and *much misunderstood* iconoclastic controversy, closing with the Second Council of Nice, the last, whose decisions were accepted both by Rome and Constantinople. They were, indeed, rejected by the whole Teutonic part of Christendom: but that entire controversy needs to be handled afresh by one sufficiently learned and large-minded to rise above the traditional misrepresentations and mistakes which have thus far permitted *no* Anglican historian to reach the real truth. That controversy was rather between the political systems and diverse civilizations of Imperialism on the one hand, and the fresh independence of Teutonism on the other. The iconoclastic Emperors were the most hard-hearted and unprincipled Erastians that the Church has yet seen. When the *true meaning* of that whole troublous time comes to be understood, the Second Council of Nice will no longer be the insuperable obstacle to our union with the East, which now—to so many minds—it appears to be: but the change in the views of so many of our people would be so great, that we should rather see the work undertaken by such a Master as the Bishop of Lincoln, than have it left to some "prentice hand." If the Bishop of Lincoln *must* resign his See—the mere threatening of which has caused so great fear and sorrow—it would be some compensation if the leisure thereby gained should complete this admirable Church History.

English Philosophers, Shaftesbury and Hutcheson.
By Thomas Fowler, M. A., LL. D. New York:
Putnam's Sons.

The first chapters of the two divisions of this book constitute its main value. The lives and characters of the philosophers have been less known, by literary men, than their speculations. Their contributions to the ethical investigation of the period in which they lived, and their influence in shaping and determining its character, are familiar to all students of philosophy. To this age their discussions appear profitless and of little significance, except as comprising part of the history of speculation. The new methods and views have so entirely supplanted the theories of the 17th and 18th centuries, that all the interest remaining centres in the biographical sketches of those who directed the thought of those times in such lines of examination.

In speaking thus, we do not wish to depreciate, in any measure, the value or influence of their labors. They, notwithstanding the defect of their theory of morals, contributed largely to the literature and culture of their times. Again, their earnest and scholarly efforts were the conditions and preparatives for what has been reached by fuller and more minute investigation in successive periods until now. It is well to know the varying phases and grounds of discussion, and as Shaftesbury and Hutcheson have always been regarded as the representatives of the "*benevolence theory*" in ethics, the book may serve as a compendious statement of that theory with its supports, while giving some data as to their labors in other fields of literary work.

Thus, in addition to the biographical sketches of each, and a statement of their ethical theory, chapters are given devoted to "Works and Style," "Theories of Religion," "Beauty and Art," "Reception and Influence of Shaftesbury's Writings," and also "Mental Philosophy," "Logic and *Æsthetics*," "Reception and Influence of Hutcheson's Writings."

The author has succeeded in gathering material for a very full and satisfactory biography of each, and has skillfully presented their personalities in life and character.

The literary public is under obligation to him for supplying this long felt need.

Again, by his comments in presenting their ethical views and arguments, he has exposed their defects, and contrasted them with the received speculations and results of the present.

The book is so compactly constructed, and is so clear in thought and style as to afford both pleasant and profitable reading.

Mary Lamb (Famous Women Series). By Anne Gilchrist. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

George Sand and George Eliot were notable women, for reasons other than their genius or literary accomplishments. Both had disregarded, in sentiment and conduct, accepted moral and social tenets, and while their greatness did not grow out of that fact, yet their fame has been thereby measurably increased. Emily Brontë's life alone, combining so much of a novel tragic and weird character, had she not written the one work that gave her literary reputation, would have afforded materials for a thrilling biography.

In the "Famous Women Series," Mrs. Gilchrist has therefore had an entirely different task from her predecessors. She had a character to portray constituted of essentially other elements and whose environments were from first to last such as not to invite but to repel the glare of publicity. Again, the life of her subject was so intertwined with that of her brother Charles that it is difficult to make a separate study of it, and still more difficult to give a precise delineation of her individuality.

Notwithstanding these inherent difficulties she has given a most interesting and satisfactory sketch through the agency of wise editorship. While one is not furnished with any new information concern-

ing the tender and devoted lives of brother and sister, yet extracts from their letters and writings are so arranged and presented as to yield a most winning and pathetic presentment of the latter. The structure of the book has all the qualities of a captivating story in which unselfish devotion and loyalty, combined with heroic patience and melting tenderness, are illustrated and immortalized.

The book gives many interesting paragraphs on the relation existing between the Lambs and their literary friends. Coleridge, Southey and De Quincey entertained and expressed feelings of a more humane and appreciative character towards Charles than those left on record by the savage and petulant Carlyle. The dyspeptic rhapsodist, however, has thereby suggested a lasting contrast between himself, at odds with everybody and everything, and the poverty-stricken, burdened and delicate yet cheerful self-sacrificing and genial author of *Elia*.

The Evidential Value of the Holy Eucharist. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1879, 1880, delivered in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by the Rev. George Frederick Maclear, D. D. London and New York: McMillan & Co.

The appearance of another volume from the pen of the learned and devout Dr. Maclear will be welcomed by every Churchman who is a lover of sound theological lore. His class books and manuals have attained a large circulation, so that his name is well known, even to the young. But this work is the ablest of all his productions, and, while it treats of the great central act of Christian worship, it presents the Holy Eucharist in what will doubtless seem to many in a new light.

The aim and scope of the book is to show, that, apart from its other benefits and blessings, this great Sacrament of the Gospel is of the highest possible value as a proof of the truth of the Christian Religion; a most important link in the well-developed chain of Christian Evidences. The lectures have been thrown

together in the form of a theological tract, divided into three parts, each part containing several chapters. This is, of course, more convenient for the reader, as lectures would be better suited to the hearer.

The author begins by calling attention to the universal offering of sacrifices at the time of the Advent of Christ, both in the Jewish and Pagan religions. And yet soon these bloody sacrifices were all done away by the sudden uprising of a new religion, whose altars smoked with no sacrificial victims. How can this be accounted for? Could this have been achieved had the new religion no sacrifice to offer instead of these types? In the second chapter we are shown that these bloody sacrifices were due to a deep conviction in the human heart of the real nature of its sin against God. Buddhism, which has no true conviction of the nature of sin, is unsacrificial in its character. "It is plain that something must have occurred between the year that witnessed the elevation of Augustus to the Supreme Pontificate and that which saw the letter transmitted by Pliny to the Emperor Trajan."

And what was that event? Was the new religion devoid of sacrifice? "Are such expressions, a 'victim,' and 'offerings,' 'oblation' and 'atonement' unknown?" There was a singular rite established by it at its very beginning, which "exists at this day among all the enlightened nations."

"In A. D. 96 we find it called a Προφορά, or 'Oblation;' in A. D. 107, it is styled a Ἐucharιστία, or 'Thank-offering;' a still later writer, A. D. 150, calls it a θυσία, or a 'Sacrifice;' another, about the same date, calls it Ανάμνησις, a 'Commemoration,' or 'Memorial;' while a later appellation, about A. D. 249, is Πάσχα, or a 'Paschal Feast.'"

Nor has the fierce white light of the Protestant Reformation beating upon it destroyed significance, or degraded it from its high position. The foot-note

(p. 47) from Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*, II., pp. 71, 72, is worthy of careful meditation:

When the Reformation came it might be supposed that this feast would be no longer regarded as the centre round which religious and philosophical meditations naturally revolved. Unquestionably there was a change in this respect; it was the *effort* of the Reformation to detach itself from this centre, but it is equally true that in spite of this effort, the reformers were compelled to make their views respecting this feast the characteristic and distinguishing feature of their systems. Because they could not agree respecting its character and validity, all the terrors of a common enemy, all the sympathies which attracted them to each other, were insufficient to bind them together.

But we cannot make a thorough and careful review of this valuable book, chapter by chapter. The conclusion of the author is that the establishment and continued practice of this Eurharistic Rite is of the highest value as evidence of the truths set forth in the Gospel.

As the memorial of a death, and nothing more, it is absolutely meaningless. As a commemoration of death conquered by life, as a means of participating in the benefits of a sacrifice offered by a risen Lord, at once God and Man, it is fraught with a momentous significance, and reconciles the phenomena of the past with those of the present (pp. 813, 814).

Natural Law in the Spiritual World. By Henry Drummond, F. R. S. E.; F. G. S. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The argument of this fresh and remarkable book is that "many of the laws of the spiritual world, hitherto regarded as occupying an entirely separate province, are simply the laws of the natural world" and can be identified in the spiritual sphere. In other words, it is to prove that the supernatural order is in conformity to the principles of the natural order and that the reign of law transforms the whole spiritual world as it has already transformed the natural world. Mr. Drummond aims to make a contribution to a truly scientific theology. He thinks that the old method of theology is inadequate to the present development of scientific thought. "Theology is searching on every hand for another echo of the voice of which Revelation is also the echo, that out

of the mouths of two witnesses its truths should be established." The new witness is science, and its work, as Mr. Drummond well says, is to corroborate theology and then purify it. The scientific method must be employed partly to put away "the monstrous overgrowths which conceal the real lines of truth," partly to bring theology into accord with new truths which has come to our knowledge through the researches of scientific men. This is the direction of Mr. Drummond's thought. His volume is less systematic than could be desired, and is not an exhaustive discussion of the subject, but the method employed is an original excursion into a first field of inquiry that has only been open since the recent scientific investigations began, and could in no way suggest the working of natural law in the spiritual world until natural law itself had been sufficiently understood and formulated. The Introduction is the most substantial part of the work and contains the argument of the whole volume. Everything in the discussion depends upon the definition of terms. Mr. Drummond is careful to maintain the position, "not that the spiritual laws are analogous to the natural laws, but that they are the same laws. It is not a question of analogy but of identity. The natural laws are not the shadows or images of the spiritual in the same sense as autumn is emblematical of decay on the falling leaf of death. The natural laws, as the law of continuity might well warn us, do not stop with the visible and then give place to a new set of laws bearing a strong resemblance to them. The laws of the invisible are the same laws, projections of the natural not supernatural." This does not mean that the whole domain of the spiritual world is covered by natural law. What is meant is illustrated by the law of continuity. This is the principle "that if nature be a harmony, man in all his relations—physical, mental, moral, and spiritual—falls to be included within its circle." As the natural laws are continuous through the universe of mat-

ter and of space, so will they be continuous through the universe of spirit. The whole of existence is not conceivable without this continuity. It is inferred from the nature of law in general, and from the scope of the principle of continuity in particular, that the laws of the natural life must be those of the spiritual life. This does not exclude the possibility of there being new laws in addition within the spiritual sphere, nor does it promise that the natural laws will be the conspicuous laws of the spiritual world, but it means that these natural laws when they reach the dignity of spiritual laws are found to be dealing at one end with matter and at the other end with spirit. The true greatness of law is in its vision of the unseen. Law is not great because the phenomenal world is great, but because these vanishing lines are the avenues into the eternal order. This is a brief outline of the course of thought which Mr. Drummond pursues. The body of the work is occupied with the development of this thought and the tracing of these laws from their scientific statement as laws of nature up into the spiritual world where they become the principles of an expansive life. We have no space for taking a critical position toward the volume; that would require many pages; but we have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important religious work of its kind that has been published in England since the appearance of Prof. Seeley's "Natural Religion" a year ago. It is suggestive of a more profound order of religious teaching than we have been accustomed to in connection with scientific truth, and is destined to help on important changes in religious thought.

The Hibbert Lectures, 1883. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge. By Charles Beard, B. A. London: Williams & Margate. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Beard, in these pages, has not attempted "to write, even within the smallest compass, a history of

the Reformation, but only to show the relation in which its results stand to modern knowledge and modern thought." His book is valuable because he looks at the Reformation from the rationalistic point of view and in this light of the spread of its leading principles throughout Europe, but it is chiefly valuable for what he contributes to the analysis of modern religious thought in the chapters devoted to "The Growth of the Critical Spirit" and "The Development of Philosophical Method and Scientific Investigation." Even in these chapters the originality is more in the point of view than in the subject matter. Mr. Beard is an English Unitarian whose sympathies may be estimated by the following passage in which he contrasts the God of the universe with the Christ suffering upon the Cross: "Did, then, God, and such a God as the all of things proves He must be, die for us? I say it with the deepest respect for the religious feelings of others, but I cannot but think that the whole system of the Atonement, of which Anselm is the author, shrivels into inanity amid the light, the space, the silence of the stellar worlds." But the statement of the way in which the critical inquiries, suggested and sanctioned by the Reformation, have affected the religious thought of our time is in the main accurate and just and has never been better made. Such a wide survey of the work began by Luther, on the side of intellectual and spiritual progress, is not to be found elsewhere among English writers. Mr. Beard has been for many years a student of religious thought and history, and has presented the whole course of thoughts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, in the fresh and clear light that has been thrown upon it by recent studies. His chapter on "The Reformation in England" is substantially correct, but is mainly a new statement of an old story. Taking Mr. Beard's point of view or his religious training into account, these lectures, though lumbering in style, are fresh and strong on the side of liberal thought, and present the broader

developments of the principles of the Reformation in sharp contrast with the old movement and in relation to a quieter but more general Reformation which is now taking place.

The Priest and the Man, or Abelard and Heloise. An Historical Romance. By William Wilberforce Newton. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co.

Mr. Newton is not the first or only writer to choose the romantic careers of Abelard and Heloise for the purposes of fiction, but it may be doubted whether any previous author has made a more careful study of the period, or given a more picturesque treatment to its details. The pages are crowded with the characteristic features of the most brilliant part of the middle ages, and one obtains from the story not only a panoramic view of the period, but considerable insight into the underlying motives of the chief actors upon the stage of that day. Mr. Newton has made a really vivid book, and has essentially kept his painting true to the spirit of the age, in which Abelard and Heloise lived. It is this feature which has given the romance its success. Limited by the necessity of keeping close to historical facts, having as it were the die of the story cast before hand, the author could only work as he was permitted, but, without a strong imagination which unables him to conceive of his characters from within and is the source of dramatic power, he has been able to reach results which others, working in the same field, have not arrived at. The book contains some slips in style and in the exact use of words, as when he speaks of "the enveloping cloudage of dust." but this style, as a whole, is well adapted to the conversations, and there is a tone of speaking in these conversations which is in keeping with the historical environment of the characters. The theological questions are less brought forward than they might have been. Abelard was the Broad Churchman of his age, and Mr. Newton might have put more into his work in that priestly and ecclesiastical time than here appears, though, if put

forward to excess, it would have been a weight upon the story. The more carefully this book is read, the more credit will be awarded to Mr. Newton for its literary excellence.

Sacred Scriptures of the World. Compiled, edited, and in part translated by the Rev. Martin K. Schermerhorn. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This book is one of those "follies of the press," which amaze the reader as he finds in them the imprint of a respectable publisher, and wonders by what kind of argument the compiler persuaded the printer to spoil good paper and waste ink in preserving foolishness. Such a work would, a generation ago, have provoked from its reviewer many sarcastic allusions (now almost unintelligible) to "material for the butter man and the trunk-maker." And yet it serves its purpose, perhaps, in showing with the most unconscious and therefore delicious irony, into what awful pitfalls of bigotry and dogmatism the objectors to "Christian bigotry and dogma" may fall.

Briefly, the book is "the Bible according to Schermerhorn." Who is Schermerhorn? one naturally asks. A very respectable Unitarian, or Deistic minister; a good speaker, and, as we have reason to believe from his present occupation, of most sanguine temperament, but utterly unknown to the literary world as possessed of any deep learning or critical acquaintance with Hebrew or Greek. We venture to say that not only is this true, but that any one reading the preface to this book would be either amused or amazed by the boldness and vagueness of the editor's statements, even had that gentleman an international reputation for critical acumen and profound research. These statements and wild theories are characteristically based upon the editor's idea of his own qualifications and the value of his own deep guesses. "As the present translator might be able to understand it," is the motto on the dull blade with which he hacks and hews the Scriptures.

As we have wondered at any publisher being found to print Mr. Schermerhorn's favorite passages in the Bible, it would be inconsistent in us to waste paper and ink in going very deeply into the demerits of the childish production which the Putnams have foolishly issued. The editor mutilates the Bible at his own sweet will, apparently forgetting at times the theories which he has laid down in the preface. Those miracles he does not like he omits. Others which commend themselves to his taste he leaves untouched. Possibly the most absurd feature of the book is the headings to the selections which contain some of the editor's choice theories as to miracles and works of healing. To show the hopeless perplexity he is reduced to in his groping after explanations which do not involve the supernatural, we may quote his comment on the raising of the widow's son at Nain, and of the daughter of Jairus. We are not jesting when we quote as follows: "Jesus rebukes the custom of immediate burial among the Jews by resuscitating persons supposed to be dead." There could not be a stronger argument for the natural interpretation of Scripture than this absurd example of the extremity to which "rationalistic" criticism is reduced.

Another illustration of the editor's delightful assurance will convey a still better idea of the value of the work and the modesty of the compiler. He does not agree with S. Paul's opinions as expressed in his Epistles. But feeling obliged to insert these Epistles in his "Bible," how can he reconcile the conflict between the mistaken apostle and the infallible editor? Will it be believed as credible that he effects this by coolly saying, in effect, that Paul did not know what he meant, and that as he must have agreed with Schermerhorn, therefore Schermerhorn has a right to cut out S. Paul's words and insert his own. We have, as a result, not the Epistles of Paul, but the Epistles which Schermerhorn thinks Paul would have written had he been a Unitarian and born in Boston.

A Review of the Baptismal Controversy. By J. B. Mozley, D. D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Dr. Mozley enjoys a posthumous reputation that largely exceeds his fame while living. Nearly all his writings have now been given to the world, and it is likely that even his merely occasional writings and his correspondence and adequate account of his methods of work will yet be given to the public. He was a singularly powerful writer. Not equal to Cardinal Newman in a fascinating style, he was more than his match in the statement of the truth about a given subject, and came only a very little short of the highest rank as a theologian in his day. This volume is the last of his earlier writings to receive the honor of a reprint. It is a subject which is not now under discussion, and it might seem hardly worth while to reproduce it; but Dr. Mozley had rare power in reviewing a great controversy to state the positions held by both parties, and to adjudicate upon their respective merits. He had both the theological and the critical mind. During the last half century Archbishop Laurence, Bishop Mant, Mr. Biddolph, Mr. Faber, Bishop Bethell, Dr. Goode, Archdeacon Wilberforce and others had the best of a great discussion. In the debate both sides were right in the issue, that one was true to common sense and experience, while the other held to the natural meaning of the Scripture. Dr. Mozley, in summing up the results which were reached in the Gorham trial, confines himself to two positions. One is, that the doctrine of the regeneration of all infants in baptism is not an article of the faith; the other is, that the formularies of our Church do not impose it. He put the same construction upon the Church formularies that has been put upon them by the standard English divines, and, in his opinion, there was nothing in the Gorham judgment which involved any departure from Anglican principles, and the acceptance of it must not rank as a party badge or be exposed to the reproach of unsound Churchmanship. The treatise is in two parts, the proof from

Scripture and the proof from the formularies, and is a thorough digest and discussion of the whole subject. It has passed into theological literature as the final word in the matter.

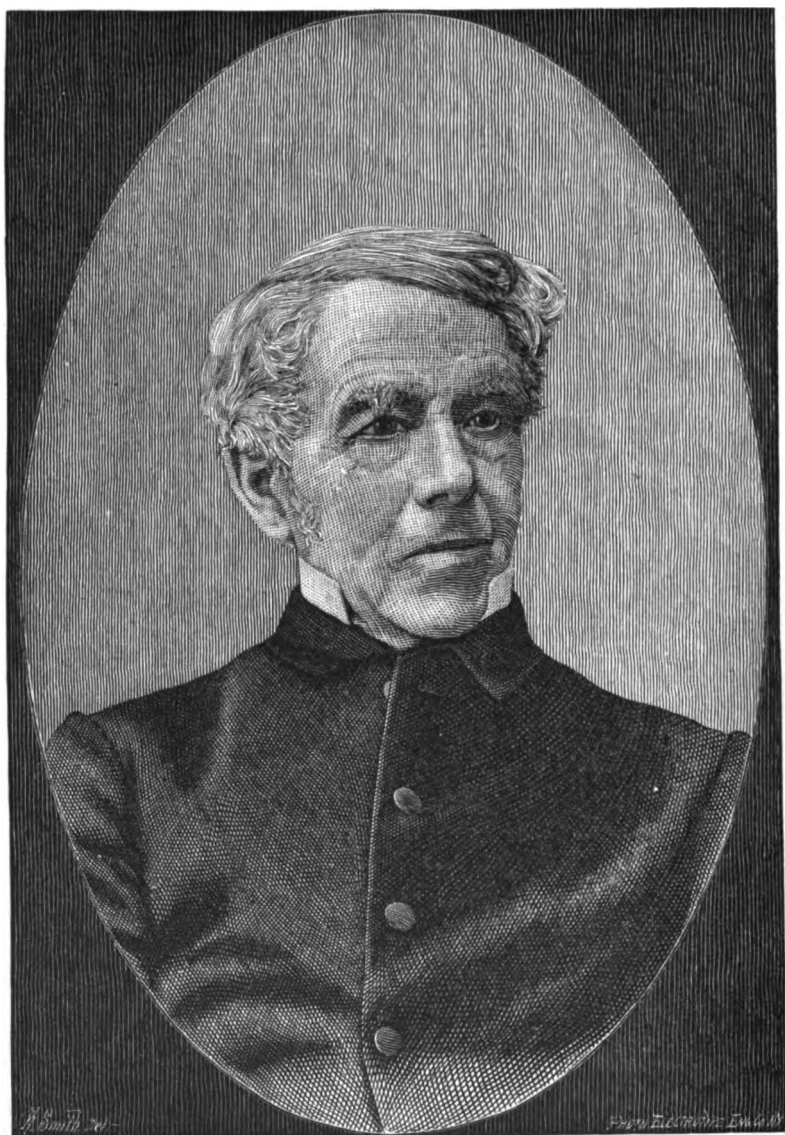
Books and How to Use Them. By F. C. Van Dyke. New York: Fords, Howard and Heilbert.

The author of this little book is deserving of congratulation. He has avoided one of the most easily besetting sins in the preparation of counsel for young students. The temptation is to display scholarship by learned and diversified reference rather than by results in words of wisdom. The treatment is judicious. Evincing a thorough knowledge of psychical peculiarities, and suits the advice to the varying constitutional characteristics of those he is addressing.

It is a generalization from his own experience, as a thoughtful and versatile reader, and hence its value as a practical *vade mecum* to be modified according to the suggestions made by each one traversing the wide and inviting field of literature. It is not and was not designed to be an elaborate discussion involving mooted points of the value, absolute or relative, of certain kinds of books, or of the order in which the study of topics should be conducted, but a simple manual to be discreetly used for guidance.

One observable feature is its freedom from authoritative dicta, and its catholicity in the matter of choice of distinctive lines of literature, art and science. While he does not ignore the difference of moral quality in books, neither does he indulge in sweeping condemnation on an assumed ground of taint. He can see some excellence in novels and some profit in the drama, and therefore leaves selection to the exercise of individual discrimination.

We regard the book as wise and timely, and containing counsel that can be safely followed by young and old.



N. S. Richardson

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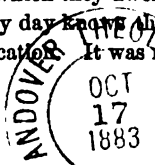
NATHANIEL SMITH RICHARDSON.

THE Reverend Nathaniel Smith Richardson, D. D., was the founder and for nearly twenty years editor of this REVIEW, and it is most fitting that a grateful tribute of respect should be paid to his memory in its pages.

Dr. Richardson was born at Middlebury, Connecticut, January 8th, 1810, and died at Bridgeport, Connecticut, August 7th, 1883.

Our personal acquaintance with Dr. Richardson was limited, and so we must record here the testimony of another, a life-long friend, concerning his early life and work. The following is from *The Guardian* (of which Dr. Richardson was the founder and editor) of August 18th, and was written by the Rev. Eaton W. Maxcy, D. D.:

Dr. Richardson was born in Middlebury, Connecticut, in 1810, and was the child of parents whose worthiness and excellencies were honored in the community in which they dwelt. Every one familiar with the New England ideas of that early day knows the peculiar regard which was associated with a collegiate education. It was not then strange that, surrounded by such influences



as were his, he should in his very youth have been strongly impressed with the importance of securing a thorough mental training. Accordingly, he eagerly availed himself of the opportunities for culture within his reach, and placing himself under the tuition of the late Rev. Amos Pettingill, was prepared for entrance upon college life, and in 1830 was admitted into the Freshman class in Yale. Success in after-life cannot always be predicated from the story of university life, nor the character of coming years be foretold; but in many instances there is found a remarkable correspondence between the youth within the college walls, and the man in his maturity. It certainly was so with him. The same eager examination into whatever was the subject of inquiry, the same positiveness of conviction when there had been thorough investigation, the same readiness to defend his position against all opponents, and, too, the same freedom from aversion to any attacks which might be made, all these characteristics which belonged to him in later years were seen in those earlier days. Especially prominent was his desire to excel in the skill of the ready writer, and so assiduously did he devote himself to efforts in this direction that he was a successful competitor for the prize in English composition. But with all his enthusiasm in this and other departments of study, and great as was his interest in the various activities of college life, he was at the same time deeply devoted to religious duties. He had been trained in the old Puritan faith and knew no other, and so earnest was he in the religious exercises of the institution that in the College Church, composed almost exclusively of students, he was appointed Deacon.

It seems strange to us, in such a day as the present, to conceive of a Prayer Book as a possible novelty to any one who has attained the years of manhood and who has for some time been resident in a literary institution and interested in the religious life. But a half century has made many changes. Until his senior year in Yale, young Richardson had never seen the Book of Common Prayer. During that year, on calling upon a friend, he found that volume lying on the table, and carelessly taking it up and glancing through it, inquired, "What is this?" He was informed in regard to it, and told that he might take it and examine it, if he desired. On returning it not long after, he was asked if he was pleased with it, and on his replying in the affirmative, was invited to attend a service of the Church some time with the owner. His first attendance was at Trinity Church, New Haven, then under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Croswell. He seated himself in the gallery, and, with a curiosity which can hardly be adequately described, witnessed for the first time a Liturgical Service. The contrast to all which he had previously known was most impressive, and eventually issued in his calling upon the venerable Rector, who loaned him various works explaining the nature of the Church and her services. Careful examination and study resulted in his conviction of the validity of the Church's claims, and the year of his graduation was the year in which he received Confirmation and entered upon that service in which he so

earnestly labored till the day, and it might almost literally be said the hour, of his death.

In order that he might obtain the means for defraying his expenses while pursuing his theological studies, he engaged in teaching. His first field in this line of work was at a female Seminary in Millbury, Mass. After remaining there for two years he accepted an invitation to be instructor in Greek in the University of Chapel Hill in North Carolina, and so successful was he in the position that the professorship was subsequently offered him. But the work of the Ministry, to which he anxiously looked forward, was ever before his mind, and bidding adieu to "the quiet and still air of delightful studies" in the old North State, he hastened to the General Theological Seminary to enter upon the training for Sacred Orders. Other sons of that Institution have welcomed the day of their entrance upon its curriculum, and with sadness bade farewell to its walls, but it may be doubted whether any ever passed within its doors with a deeper longing for all which its facilities could furnish. The manner in which he often gave reminiscences of the years spent there, suggested the glowing pleasure with which the sweet joys of the happy childhood's home are recalled.

On the eighth day of July, 1838, in Portland, Connecticut, at an ordination held by Bishop Brownell, he was admitted to the Diaconate with four others, two only of whom are now enrolled on our clergy list: the Rev. Dr. William B. Ashley, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the Rev. Dr. William Payne, Rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y. His first field of labor was in Christ Church, Watertown, Conn., as assistant to the Rev. Dr. Holcomb, whose advanced years required the aid of one in more vigorous life, and into the work thus assigned him, he entered with the fresh ardor of youth. On the Easter following, Dr. Holcomb resigned his office, and his devoted assistant was elected Rector. He was ordained Priest and instituted by the same Bishop by whom he had been ordered Deacon.

The effect of the zeal and efficiency with which he performed his duties, was soon seen. Not only was he speedily known to those who were already parishioners, but wherever he found any who were accessible to his efforts, thither he hastened. Especially was he devoted to those in humble life, and to those in affliction. No sacrifice of time or labor was withheld. Superlatives are sometimes rashly used, but the testimony of such men as the venerable Holcomb, the aged Rector and his predecessor, and the Rev. Dr. Clark, of Waterbury, Conn., will not be lightly esteemed by those who knew them, and they were wont to say that Richardson was the best parish Priest whom they had ever known. With full heart, with profoundest conviction, with deepest earnestness, did he give himself to the work of the ministry here, and though more than two score years have since elapsed, the stream of the intervening time has not erased the deep impression which he, by God's blessing, made upon the parish. After seven years service in Watertown, he resigned

his charge there, and entered upon another field of labor in what is now the parish of Christ Church, Ansonia, in the same Diocese, where for upwards of four years, with the same whole-hearted devotion, he labored in the pastorate.

But these twelve years, abounding as they did in parish work, were the season of other labors as well. The old fondness for the use of the pen, which had characterized him in the University, still clung to him, and not content with even such extended ministrations as have been mentioned, he issued tracts, some of which might be termed treatises on Church topics. His *Pastor's Appeal on Confirmation* passed through many editions, as also did the *Reasons why I am a Churchman*. His *Churchman's Reasons for his Faith and Practice*, and *Reasons why I am not a Papist*, *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, and the *Sponsor's Gift*, are well known. These works, in their thorough examination of the points involved, their clearness of statement and compactness of presentation, bear witness to the severity of mental discipline and the careful study to which he was accustomed. As an evidence of his interest in local matters not purely ecclesiastical or theological, the *Historical Sketch* of the town which was the scene of his first Rectorship may be instanced.

This sketch brings us to that period of his life in which we are particularly interested, for it was at that time he conceived the idea of establishing a Quarterly Review in the Church. It was a vast undertaking, as at that time the Church was not large enough to warrant the hope that such a publication would find a large constituency. But he saw it was needed and undertook the work full of faith and courage. The first number appeared in April, 1848, under the title of *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register*. It represented at that time and during the whole of his editorial management what is now known as "old fashioned high churchmanship." He conducted it, in modern phraseology, in the interests of one school of thought. The articles were not signed by their authors, and so were expected to conform to the policy of the REVIEW. He was true to what he believed to be the truth. We venture to say that no Review in England or America was ever edited with greater ability than the CHURCH REVIEW during the period of Dr. Richardson's editorship. He gathered into its pages the best thought of the ablest men in the American Church. No less than twenty-three Bishops were contributors, and we find most of the names of the Clergy and Laity, who have been leaders in the

Church during the past fifty years, among its writers. Surely no one did more than he to develop American Church Literature. In 1868 failing health compelled him to seek a change of work, and he removed to Bridgeport, Conn., and became the Rector of S. Paul's Church. There he spent thirteen years in successful parish labor. But his love for journalism, and feeling that the time had come to establish a weekly Church paper in New York with a definite policy, led him to again assume editorial duties, and he issued the first number of *The Guardian* November 29th, 1879. He brought to his new enterprise all the spirit and energy that had characterized his former life.

With Dr. Richardson's ecclesiastical opinions, and the policy he pursued in *The Guardian*, we have nothing to do. That he was true to his convictions all will admit. But we feel called upon to give, here, our reasons for changing the policy of the REVIEW. We are building upon the foundations he laid, and we ought to state our reasons for changing the plan he followed for twenty years, especially as on more than one occasion he called in question the wisdom of the change. We can best introduce what we have to say by quoting his notice of the July number of the REVIEW which appeared in *The Guardian* of August 11th.

We are gratified that this *Review* now in its *Forty-second* Volume, gives such evidences of vitality, and such promise of long continuance. It has never been characterized in its management by more vigorous enterprise than now; and Mr. Baum deserves the hearty coöperation of Churchmen in sustaining this, the only "Review" in the Church.

We express, however, and not for the first time, the opinion that the policy on which the *Review* is conducted is not that which will subserve the best interests of the Church; nor is it that which is best suited to the peculiar condition and wants of the age and times.

We shall be pardoned in saying, that we have a right to an opinion on that matter. For twenty years we were sole editor and proprietor of the *Review*; and it was never in a condition of greater strength and prosperity than when we gave it up.

Our judgment as to the true province and work of a *Church Review* is, that it should be positive, uncompromising, and uniform in its teachings. The Church demands this, especially at the present day. Never in the history of the World and of the Church were the foundations of Social Order so threatened. Never were the attacks upon those foundations so insidious, so covert, so fearless and desperate as they are now. It is no time for whiffing, and trimming, and time-serving; no time, when the Church's trumpet on her up-

building walls should give an uncertain sound. Men do not prepare themselves to the battle under such a signal.

A *Church Review* should be thoroughly Catholic and comprehensive in its tone and spirit. The old Vincentian Rule is the true one, *la necessarii, Unitas; in dubiis, Libertas; in omnibus, Charitas*. Such, we do not hesitate to say, was the governing policy of the *Church Review* in the former time. True men of varying shades of opinion wrote regularly for its pages. Such writers as Bishop Whittingham, and Dr. Jarvis, and Bishop Burgess, were among its frequent contributors. But there were sentiments and opinions, which, though urged upon us, never found utterance in the *Church Review*; for they were outside the boundary lines which the Church herself has clearly drawn.

Such sentiments and opinions are held to-day. And under the mistaken plea of the "Church's comprehensiveness," they are thrust upon the Church's children. Under the cover of that cant phrase, "Schools of Thought," and under the blind of that pretentious nonsense about a Pauline, and Johannean, and Petrine Christianity, the very pith and marrow of the Gospel are destroyed; and the power of the Gospel is lost. The Christian Life is the outward expression and outworking of Christian Dogma. He, Who is "The Life," is also "The Truth," and "The Way." Right living is conditioned on right believing.

The present July Number of the *Church Review* is an illustration of our criticism. It contains an able and most admirable article by the Rev. Dr. Jaeger, Professor at Gambier, on *The Modern Conception of the Development of the Religion of Israel as the Claimed Result of the New Criticism of the Old Testament*. It is a paper worthy of the *Review*, and of the Professor, and is just suited to the times.

And then, in the same number of the *Review*, there is an Article on *The Theology of To-day, as it Centres in the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, by the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton, M. A.

We regret to see such an Article in such a place. So objectionable is it, in its whole teaching, tone, and tendency that the *American Church Review* is no place for it. We have commented freely upon the Article in the present number of the *GUARDIAN*.

We undertook the editorial management of the *REVIEW* with the conviction that the *AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW* ought to represent the American Church, and that it could only do so by allowing both sides of questions in dispute to be presented. We did not then, nor do we yet believe, that it is possible for one man to be possessed of wisdom enough to enable him to give a right judgment in those matters which are to-day in dispute in the Church. How much better then to make the *REVIEW* a field for free discussion—that in the end the truth may be established by party prejudice giving place to sound argument. It seems to us much better to allow men—who are permitted to teach what they please where no one can interfere be-

cause they are the duly appointed teachers—to declare before the Church what they believe and teach. If they are wrong and open to conviction, they can be won over to the side of truth, at least the Church will know what sort of teachers they are. One thing must be borne in mind, and it is this: The REVIEW is not read by the Sunday School children of the Church, nor is it intended for them, but for the active, thinking men and women of the Church who are accustomed to study the questions of the day and form their opinions after reading all that has been written upon them.

Again, how can the REVIEW be Catholic and comprehensive if it is closed to half of the Catholic Church? We agree entirely with Dr. Richardson in what a Church Review ought to be, but we are unwilling to admit that any one man is able to draw the boundary line in those doubtful things concerning which the best and wisest men in every age of the Church have differed. We do not call in question the wisdom of the policy of the REVIEW while it was under his management. It may have been the best for the times. But that the present policy is adapted to this age we have no doubt, judging from results, and the almost unanimous approval of those whose prominence in the Church entitle their judgment to consideration.

Dr. Richardson performed a work, the value of which can hardly be estimated, and he will long be remembered as a devoted, able and fearless Priest of the Church.

HENRY MASON BAUM.

MODERN MISSIONS AND EXPERIMENTAL METHODS.

“WE are the ancients,” said Lord Bacon; a saying which, like a proverb, needs to be taken “with the interpretation thereof.” I well remember when I first quoted this to my *Seën Sang*, as our teachers in Chinese

are called. The old gentleman, who was very tall and dignified, bent his head on one side and tried to think out the possible meaning of such an aphorism; and at last, after not a little explanation on my part, he began to "take it in," meditatively; but when the full meaning broke upon him, he got angry, took off his large spectacles, laid them on his open book and declared that such a sentiment savoured of impiety!

I believe he never got reconciled to the idea—it ran so directly against the whole current of his habits, thoughts and principles. To him, earliest was best; most primitive was most pure; and the sincere simplicity of his ancestors a thousand times better than the complicated culture of their descendants.

And there is little doubt but that "to this complexion we must come at last." All experiments of living lead back to simple diet, pure air, quiet sleep, hearty exercise and free ablution. All geometrical demonstration goes back to the triangle.

Surely there is a cycle of experiment, through which men run in about every third generation. A given method is tried, and it *succeeds*, so long as those who conceived it, and who labored in it, *con amore*, were influentially at work. Their followers, being but partially animated by the same spirit, work out the *method*, perhaps, but with a mitigated *motive*; indeed other motives creep in, and the whole tone and flavor of the work are changed. The third generation finds no satisfaction in the old method, and sets itself to invent and apply some new one.

This furnishes explanation enough of the fact that we have seen springing up, during the last eighty years—a countless succession of plans, schemes, methods, models, etc., for the conduct of modern missions—all of them embodying some valuable idea, but most (we will not say *all*) vitiated by a fond preference for the employment of some *one* instrumentality, to the disparagement and overshadowing of others, equally important and valuable.

Now, it is not the part of practical wisdom to be thus "in endless mazes lost," by reason of the multiplicity of methods among which to choose, or from which to make

up an eclectic scheme of questionable congruity. Such a course might be the best practicable one, if we were left to do as the mere moral philosopher—make the best he can out of Cicero's *consensus bonorum omnium*. But having a Divine Pattern it is the Higher Wisdom simply to follow it: although in some sense “we *are* the ancients”—nay, perhaps *because* we are so—we should revert to early simplicity; just as the true artist, whether painter, architect or musician, turns away from elaborations, and ornamentations, and efflorescences, and reverts to the earlier and simpler forms which most closely correspond to nature itself.

The Divine pattern to be followed is briefly sketched in Eph. iv. 11: “He gave some, Apostles; and some, Prophets; and some, Evangelists; and some, Pastors and Teachers.” What follows, to the end of verse 16, exhibits the glorious result of ecclesiastical perfection which would follow from an adherence to the Divine method of bestowment and administration, between which and the appointed order of our Church's ministry—Bishops, Priests and Deacons—there is no contradiction, though there *is* occasion for some discrimination.

For instance, it is usual, almost universal, to confuse the idea of Apostolic Succession with that of Episcopal Succession, or Lineage; whereas they are distinct.

Archdeacon Hare explains it well in his “Victory of Faith, and other Sermons” (Serm. X., p. 326). The words will sound strange to some of us, but they are true.

He says:

I trust it will not be deemed overstraining an argument to observe that so far are the Apostolic and Episcopal officers from being identical, that they are essentially different; the special business of the former being to found new churches and to bring unbelievers to the knowledge of the Gospel; and that of the latter to govern the churches already established, and to take care that the Word of God be rightly divided to those who are already in the faith.

Boniface was an Apostle to the Germans before he was made Bishop; our own Payne in Africa, and Boone in China, were both Apostles to those countries before they were consecrated as Bishops; their succession was first apostolic, and afterwards Episcopal.

Now, when men go forth in apostolic character, it is for

them to perform apostolic functions; and what those are we learn from our Lord and Master's own lips:

Preach the Gospel; heal the sick; baptize believers; teach them to observe all things commanded.

These things the first Apostles *did*, and these same things must their successors also do, else the validity of their succession becomes questionable. S. Paul's ideas as to what constituted the "signs of an Apostle" are worth studying; they would give us both clearer and stronger views of missionary work than is often met with now-a-days. See 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2, and 2 Cor. x. xi. xii.

Leaving now the "Apostle" subject, we come to "Prophets," *i. e.*, preachers, whom it is the business of the first missionary to seek out and train up from among his early converts. "Evangelists," *i. e.*, itinerating preachers, follow next; and over the feeble congregations, the "little flocks" gathered by such laborers, the next thing is to settle "Pastors;" and for the children of the converts, "Teachers" must be provided, who will school the youth of the native Church in Christian truth, rather than in heathen literature.

Can anything be more simple, natural and straightforward than this apostolic outline of the method of doing the work of our wide world's evangelization? Can we do better than revert to this simplicity, and do our work *on these lines*, so to speak; following the wise pattern of sending forth the fellow laborers "two and two," and never forgetting that the healing of the sick must ever accompany the preaching of the Gospel?

* * * * *

"Look on that picture, and on this!" Let us take things as they are, and have been for the past century, or thereabouts; and, disregarding what has intervened in mediæval times, compare what we do now, and how we do it, with the early, primitive, apostolic methods.

An excellent Christian minister, rector of an active church, himself an influential member of a missionary committee, once surprized me by insisting that everything depended on the individual missionary. I deprecated the

idea as not creditable to the Church at home, however complimentary it might seem to be, in a certain way, to the missionary himself. But he persisted:

You may depend upon it that what I say is correct. The missionary must first have the fire lighted in his own heart; then he must get others to catch fire from him; then he must induce the authorities of the Church to send him out; then he must interest certain persons and churches to sustain him while abroad; then he must go out and learn the language and begin to preach and establish schools and write home reports to keep up the interest; then, after he has run down in health, he must return home and go about the country preaching and making addresses and finding out who will join him and go out to share his labors, and so on to the end of his career.

I protested again at this representation of the matter and insisted that mission-loving people at home had a far larger share in the common work than my good friend was willing to admit. And I think so still; but, at the same time, I feel constrained to acknowledge that there was *far too much truth* in his statement, a conviction which has been forced upon me by an observation of full forty years, during which time I have passed through the stages of Student, Missionary, Parish Minister, in city and country; Chaplain, naval, military and consular; College Professor and Lecturer; not to speak of having served on committees of translation and management, both for Tract and Bible Societies.

This enumeration is made for the purpose of showing that opportunities have not been wanting for the formation of opinions that ought to be worth something, unless an unusual amount of obtuseness has stood in the way of getting a true view of the influences which affect the whole work.

Yes, it is even so in a great degree, as the good rector described. The commencement of this, as of every other great work, is in the heart's thought of one individual.* He is moved—and, if he be a true Christian, moved of the Holy Ghost—to carry the Gospel of the Kingdom and to deliver its all-important message to those who have not yet heard “that Name which is above every name;” to enlighten those who are heathens *by necessity*, unlike the un-

* The case of Augustus Lyde is a strong instance. He was the *first* founder, so to speak, of our China mission, though he died at home.

converted in Christian lands, who are heathen *by choice*. He feels how unsatisfactory a thing it is to remain at home as a physician of souls, prescribing for the minor ailments and imaginary maladies of those who have enough and to spare of nursing care and available remedies, while in the regions beyond there are millions of the unevangelized who are perishing in utter ignorance of the panacea of Christ's blessed Gospel. He resolves to go; but first he dutifully asks his parents' consent.

"No, my son," is almost sure to be the first word that is uttered, without premeditation, by the father or mother of a missionary aspirant. And then, recollecting themselves, and being inwardly conscious of the incongruity of their utterance—its inconsistency with their own position and professions—then follow a score of so-called "reasons" why the thing should not be done which Christ's distinct command enjoins us to do. "There are plenty of heathen to be converted at home." "You are calculated to be very useful in your own country." "Charity begins at home." "Your family require your presence." "Persons of inferior ability will do for missionaries." "It would break your mother's heart to part with you." "When God means to convert the heathen He can do it without your help." "The door must be shut behind you as well as opened before you." "Such men as you are needed at home to oppose erroneous teaching." "Your health would not stand a foreign climate." "Civilization must precede evangelization." "It would be presumption in you to attempt to overthrow such venerable systems of religion and philosophy as have grown up in the world." "Why should *you* go abroad rather than others?" "You will be murdered by the natives." "This missionary scheme is nothing but the delusion of ignorant fanatics." "The time for such undertakings has not yet come," etc., etc.

Such are some of the cobweb-fallacies which have to be brushed away before one who has said to himself, "This one thing I do," can go forward in the carrying out of his purpose; and a sad commentary it is on the low level of attainment in most of our churches that these cold objections have to be encountered, instead of the parents, pastors and

friends meeting a young volunteer with words of encouragement and sympathy, and expressing thankfulness to God that the spirit of an apostolic zeal still survives among us, and feeling that it is an honor of the highest kind that *our* country, *our* neighborhood, *our own* congregation, *our* family, has in it those who are moved to take upon themselves this holiest of all the labors of love.

Let us suppose the preliminary difficulties to have been overcome and the zealous young Christian to be set free to follow his own convictions. His next anxious question is, how best to prepare for his anticipated work; and this, again, involves the decision of another point—*where* shall his labors be bestowed?

Most probably his interest has already been awakened in some definite field to which his attention has been directed, by some of the inscrutable workings of God's providence; or, if not so, some sudden call is made for volunteers to enter a given field where there is urgent need, or an unusual opening for work; or, perhaps, a strong personal attachment is felt to some noble-minded friend, who has been himself a pioneer, and is now anxious to enlist recruits.

That word "recruits" brings us to the analogy which will often recur to our thoughts, and will furnish us with the most suitable suggestions applicable to mission work, namely, the fitting out, sustaining and directing of a military expedition into an enemy's country. Are we not engaged in bringing a Revolted Province into subjection to its rightful Monarch? Have we not to contend against the wiles of an enemy no less subtle and powerful than Satan himself?

We want, therefore (to carry out the figure), a War Department and a War Secretary. We want a good system of recruiting, a well arranged administration of supplies, connection with the forces in the field well kept up, and every *bureau* worked with promptitude and efficiency.

If the Secretary is an able, right-minded, energetic man, deliberate in action, yet not afraid of responsibility; and if those who have appointed him to office have reasonable confidence in him—as they ought to have, else they should not place him in so exalted and difficult a position; and if, moreover, the great body of the people are ready to follow

and sustain generously the movements of their chosen leaders, then there will be as much accomplished, and that with as little friction as is compatible with our present low level of attainment as Christians.

An agent so empowered and trusted could move without embarrassment or delay in all cases, especially in those emergencies which often arise in the course of missionary experience; and so long as his general policy was in harmony with those who have the success of the cause at heart all should go well in the main—little frictions always excepted.

In case, however, his policy should cease to commend itself to the judgment of his constituents the remedy is open to them of—first, calling upon him for explanations of what they do not feel satisfied about, and then, if still unsatisfied, of removing him from office and putting in his place some other man more to their mind.

This, which is the parliamentary and commercial, and military plan, should also be the missionary. It embodies the common sense of mankind on the subject.

“A Policy” has been mentioned, and it may be well to bear in mind that this word has been defined as “a set of principles which we are not ashamed to avow nor afraid to act upon.” Without some such policy there can be no satisfactory conduct of affairs in any department of human life. It should be also remembered that responsibility and control must go together, and that when any officer is entrusted with high powers his responsibility is co-extensive; on the other hand, if he is made responsible for the successful management of an undertaking he must, in all fairness, have such control as is commensurate with his obligations.

And here we touch the point of practical difference between a Secretary with a Committee for his Council, and a Committee with a Secretary for their servant.

A Committee, some one has said, is “a contrivance in which the control is condensed and the responsibility evaporated;” which saying, of course, must have reference to the fact that there is, in all collective bodies of men, some *one* who has more wisdom, wit and *will* than the rest, and this one virtually overrules the rest.

True, his wisdom may be mere detail knowledge of the matter in hand; his wit may be mere skill in management of other minds; and his will may be near akin to obstinacy; but the determination of such a member of a Board or Committee will, in almost all cases, result in the carrying out of his ideas and plans, although when the time comes for facing the consequences of plans ill-arranged or ideas discredited, then it will be "the Committee" as a whole on whom the responsibility will be thrown—distributed, dissipated, "evaporated," so to speak.

All who have been accustomed to act on Boards and Committees will understand this readily. They will be able to recall many occasions on which everything has turned on the firmness and determination (or obstinacy) of one member.

If Oxenstiern, when he said, "My son, you see with how little wisdom the world is governed," had added "It is the strongest *will* that carries the day," he would not have been far wrong. For in carrying out all religious and benevolent objects men are mostly appointed on Committees on account of their goodness, warm-heartedness, amiability; they are generally lovers of peace, lovers of good men, averse to strife, and therefore it often comes to pass that they are disposed to yield rather than contend, and so they allow things to pass which their judgment does not altogether approve. Sir Arthur Helps puts this (somewhat roughly, it is true,) in Chapter XVI. of his *Social Pressure*, where he makes one of his interlocutors ask the question:

Why is it that bores and noodles often have their way at Boards, Committees, and public assemblages of all kinds? Only because the sensible men are fatigued.

And the same idea, in smoother form, is found again in his *Fruits of Leisure*.

A good man of business is very watchful, both over himself and others, to prevent things from being carried against his sense of right, in moments of lassitude. After a matter has been much discussed, whether to the purpose or not, there comes a time when all parties are anxious that it should be settled; and there is then some danger of the handiest way of getting rid of the matter being taken for the best. (pp. 81-2, *On the Transaction of Business*).

Another of the drawbacks connected with Commit-

tee work is the delay—both dangerous and damaging—which must be submitted to, no matter how great an emergency may arise, or how urgent may be the reasons for immediate action. The utmost deliberation in *legal* proceedings is justified by the desirableness of reaching a perfectly just judgment on the points in dispute; but the proposition to conduct a campaign by a Committee is one that no soldier of sense would agree to for a moment; the case of Dumourier settles that point.

The delays required for the very act of conference, the check to anything like enthusiasm by the incurable cautiousness of some cold, calculating member always present; the fact that the simple raising of difficulties is apt to be counted as reason enough to desist; the poor “fallacy of objections,” as the logicians call it; the uneasiness which is communicated to a whole “quorum” when one or two of its members are on the tenter-hooks, having some “other engagements” to keep—these are some (not all) of the drawbacks connected with the transaction of executive business by committees.

There are two hindrances not yet mentioned, which are so frequent and so vigorous that a more particular notice of them seems called for: one is the observance of the “usual order” of referring all matters to a sub-committee “to report;” the other is the difference in the *personnel* of a committee at its several meetings.

Let us describe these things as they generally happen. The hour for a committee meeting is come, and the secretary is “on time,” with a goodly pile of communications under his paper-weights, on one side and on the other, containing several applications for appointment as missionaries. Of the communications, many have been written about eight or ten weeks previously, and some came into the secretary’s hands a few days after the last committee meeting, a month ago. The applications of most of them, the result of much earnest, often of agonizing, conflict of mind, and the answers to them are awaited with intense anxiety by those most intimately concerned, families as well as individuals.

While waiting for some of those habitually-unpunctual

Christian gentlemen whose presence is necessary to make a quorum, these various documents are informally talked over by the secretary and those two or three who are polite enough to be punctual. So the moments of a broken half-hour wear away, while one and another straggles in singly, until the magic number is completed and "a quorum is present."

The minutes of the last meeting are read, and some one or two, who happen not to have been present on that occasion, express not a little dissatisfaction at some things that were done, muttering half audibly that if they had been present they should have voted against such and such action; and so they probably would, and it might have turned the scale the other way, and the course adopted (too late now for recall) would have been, in all probability, the very opposite of what has now become the "policy" of the committee, and part of the history of some foreign station.

But the minutes are approved and adopted, and the new business is brought forward.

1. Appeal from the Mission in A—— for two more Missionaries immediately.

Referred to sub-committee on A——.

2. Appropriation needed in the B—— Mission for procuring an eligible site for Mission premises—a rare opportunity, not likely to recur.

Referred to sub-committee on B——.

3. Teacher needed in the C—— Mission—the heathen government favorable, at that moment, to the establishment of a school, and willing to endow it in part.

Referred to sub-committee on C——.

And so on, till the secretary's pile has been disposed of.

As to the applicants, a few casual remarks are made in reference to one or two whose names happen to be known to some of the members present; but the whole list is summarily disposed of by being "referred to the sub-committee on Missionary appointments."

The above will suffice for our purpose, without going through all the business of a committee meeting, only it may be remarked that there is apt to be hurried and hasty action towards the close, because Dr. D. "must ask to be

excused, having a marriage ceremony to perform, and Mr. E. fears he shall lose the next train, and F. G., Esq., being a bank director, has an important meeting at which his presence is indispensable," etc., etc.

Now what of these sub-committees?

We need hardly be reminded of the true saying, "Where business is to be done it is the busy men who do it." We need not repeat what all, conversant with such matters, well know, that prominent persons are put on committees *because* they are influential men, generally connected with large congregations or constituencies, and therefore having both their time and their thoughts much occupied.

These things being considered, it is no wonder that the chairman of a sub-committee, in returning from a regular monthly committee meeting, when he sits down to his desk next morning and (if he is an orderly man) sorts out, labels and files away the accumulated papers lying on his table—it is no wonder if he puts his Missionary documents into an accustomed pigeon-hole with the very real though unuttered feeling, "*That*, at least, can wait awhile. No immediate hurry."

And wait it does, for three weeks or more, perhaps until the very eve of the next general committee meeting, and then, with no intention of slighting the duty, but nevertheless, much more slightly, much less thoughtfully than the subject demands, a report is drafted, making some half-considered recommendations, and with this in his pocket, he goes to the next meeting, and encounters there the other members of his sub-committee, who glance over the prepared draft and sign their names *pro forma*, saying to their esteemed chairman, "Oh, of course, it's all right. You know all about that field, and besides, it must, of course, come up for discussion, anyhow."

Yes, of course, it must; and it might just as well have been discussed a month earlier, if all members of committee were in their places, and all were ready to give an undistracted attention to the matter in hand.

The delay has been a wasteful one. The anxious urgency under which a far-off Missionary has written goes for nothing; the passing opportunity which might have been availed

of is now an opportunity past *and lost*; the over-strain of solicitude with which some aching hearts are waiting for the answer to an application has been continued needlessly for added weeks; and all for a routine, good in legislation, useless in executive action.

And now we come to another point. "All members in their places," a result not often reached; partly from unavoidable hindrances, but chiefly from an easy-going (not to say indolent) feeling which suggests "there will be a quorum without *me*."

Yes: there may, and probably will be. But how does the business in hand fare when it is transacted, at successive meetings, by a bare quorum?

We will suppose, for convenience of illustration, a committee of seven, five of whom are a quorum for transaction of business, Secretary and Treasurer included.

H. is the steady, judicious, deliberate, reliable member, always punctually at his post.

I. is influential out of doors; knows what will be acceptable and feasible; but is himself capricious and notional: no calculation can be made at any time as to how he will vote.

J. is well posted in the past history of mission work, and has a quick appreciation of the difficulties which might beset any given plan.

K. is sanguine, hopeful, confident of success, ready to support anything that looks like progress; believes in "ventures of faith," and is impatient with croakers.

L. is eminently financial; always wants to know "where the money is to come from;" as a general rule, favors a policy of retrenchment.

M. believes in sowing the Gospel seed broad-cast; prefers itinerancy; regards Missionaries chiefly as heralds ranging over extensive regions.

N. feels sure that most good is to be done by schools and hospitals and printing-presses; advocates lay-agency, especially the employment of female teachers and nurses.

Now, let us suppose a proposition of some importance is under consideration at a meeting when K. and M. are absent, while the five others (the needed quorum) take part

in the discussion, but no conclusion is reached, and the further consideration of the matter is deferred till the "next regular meeting," whereat the matter comes up for final action. There is again only a quorum, but now, K. and M. are present, whereas J. and L. are absent; the consequence of which will be a vote very unlike what would have been given a month before; and yet it may be practically irrevocable, and may (as has been before remarked) determine the policy, and so involve the success of a whole Mission.

Is it in such ways as this that the great work of the Lord should be carried on?

And what aggravates this evil of inconsecutiveness (so to call it) is, that no one can subject a committee to what the French call "interpellation." Let any one attempt to remonstrate against some injudicious action of the conclave—something that constitutes a real grievance, either to an individual or to a whole mission, and he will soon find that the Star Chamber itself was not more unapproachable, or more insensitive to appeal; or rather, more sensitive to the affront which an appeal implies, than is a committee of Christian gentlemen, no one of whom individually, would think of doing things to which, as a body, they do not shrink from committing themselves, and that too in a way which you will never get them to retract. A committee never eats its own words; eminently, it "hates to be reformed;" and while they may be brought, by a little "judicious management" to alter their course, so as to practically neutralize, and even to contravene, what they may have previously decreed, yet you must not expect them to say so; and you had better not let it appear too plainly that there is any inconsistency between their action now, and then; or at least that you perceive it.

There is a dignified supremeness in the tone and manner of a secretary when he informs you that "The committee have good reasons for their action;" and there is a courtly gravity in the speech of a committeeman who "refers you to the secretary," for an answer to some question of yours, which he finds it difficult to meet without making acknowledg-

ments which would be embarrassing to his sense of honor as a private gentleman.

Cowardliness is seldom more perfectly exemplified than in the reciprocal hiding behind each other of secretaries and committee-men when something has been done or resolved which they are either afraid or ashamed to avow.

This, together with the inconsistent changefulness before mentioned, causes sometimes the action of committees, boards, and even societies, to be so incongruous and unjustifiable that one of the ablest writers of our time (no less a man than Cardinal Newman), has wittily suggested this explanation: he supposes there must be a class of evil spirits who have been cast out of Heaven, but not condemned to the infernal regions; and that these, wandering about the earth, take possession of corporate bodies and malevolently influence them. He knows of no other way in which to account for their incomprehensible conduct.

Severe; but the shaft of wit strikes very near the mark; for the pride of consistency, the *esprit de corps*, a touch of lordliness and the sense of sovereignty, which disdains to be catechised as ordinary men might be, are all of them approximations to the characteristics which are the opposite of divine; and which appear ten-fold to disadvantage in the conduct of Christian men, disciples of Him who was "meek and lowly in heart;" and with a yet added painfulness when exhibited in the work of setting forward the honor of His Name, and the coming of His Kingdom.

* * * * *

The remedy (for we must check ourselves, and run the risk of abruptness)! what is the remedy?

We quote the words (written eighteen years ago) of a distinguished Presbyter—since made a Bishop:

CHICAGO, Dec. 7, 1864.—I agree with you as to the placing of each department, foreign and domestic, under an active, zealous, large-minded, large-hearted man. We ought to do as the Methodists and Presbyterians do—place our very foremost men at the helm and hold them responsible for the right working of the whole machinery.

That touches the point—*one man, with power and responsibility*. One man here at home; a sort of Ecclesiastical

Secretary of War; and one Bishop abroad in each mission field, like a General of Division. Appoint these; trust them; empower them; and fix responsibility upon them.

EDW. W. SYLE.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

IT would, indeed, be worse than folly deliberately to shut our eyes to the fact that ours is an age of change. Doubts and questionings are on every side. On almost every topic there is a call for readjustment. What are we going to do about it? Laugh at it in a cynical spirit? Surely not! Treat it with cold indifference? No! Affect to hold it in contempt? Again, no! Not in pride, but with patience; not testily, but in a spirit of meekness; not to win a temporary triumph, but, if we are thought worthy, to secure a victory for the Truth—this is our duty as Christian men, and at the same time our privilege.

It were easy to complain; it is always easy to complain. Materialism and Secularism have gained the upper hand. The men who minister to material wants are, *par excellence*, Scientists. Metaphysics and Ethics, and, above all, Theology, are at a discount. Why? Because men will have it so. It is in the air, as we say; it is the spirit of the age. "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!" It is not complaining about it that will make things better. There is but one thing to do. We must meet the issue. We must gird up our loins. Meanwhile, we must wait patiently until this tyranny be overpast.

It is with pleasure, then, that we respond to the challenge made some two months ago, in this REVIEW, to give an answer why the Articles of Religion are still to be retained by us as part and parcel of our Anglican heritage. We would not be understood as saying that some things might not be changed for the better in them. We are of the opinion that, in the present condition of Theological

learning among us, revision would not help us. We believe them to be the very best that just now we are capable of.

Before taking up the question immediately in hand, there are two or three preliminary matters which, in following the order of our Reviewer, we shall have to consider. Why should there be such a thing as a Creed or a Confession of any kind? We answer: Not because the Church herself has any need of such—she has never, of her own motion, set herself to formulate a creed; but because speculation and false teaching have compelled her to state explicitly what her faith, as she received it from the beginning, in verity and truth, is. Had the Church only herself and her children to consider, her preference would have been that her faith and her traditions should remain unwritten. Implicit faith for all purposes of devotion and Christian living, is mightier far than logical formulas and explicit statements. But men would not have it so. They would speculate; they would question; they would have logical answers to their inquiries; so the Church was compelled, from time to time, to define and formulate, and give explicit expression to her faith. Let it at the outset be clearly understood, then, that the Church has never desired to dogmatize, or formulate, or bind up the faith in logical definitions. She would at all times infinitely have preferred to be let alone, and allowed to hold the faith as an unwritten tradition. She had no wish even to fix definitely the Canon of Scripture; she was forced to do so. False teachers and gainsayers compelled her (reluctantly) to come out and away from her proper work of prayer, and praise, and loving care for the souls of men, and enter into the field of controversy, and declare, in opposition to the new lights of bygone generations, what the thing committed to her at the beginning and held by her as an unwritten tradition (so as not to cast pearls before swine) in very truth was, and is. Protesting at the outset that we should not complain, we are disposed then, if not to complain, to enter our protest, on the ground of honesty and fairness, against those persons, both within and without the pale, who misrepresent the Church in this matter, as if she loved to dogmatize, was inclined to formulate creeds, and desired to bind chains of logical state-

ments upon the necks of good, simple, pious men. It is simply not so. It is an invention out of the whole cloth. Had there never been any doubters, there never would have been any written formularies. Had there been none to object, the faith would never have sought logical expression. It is the old question of the heathen man to the missionary: Why don't God kill the devil? It is worse than childish, then—it is wicked to complain about creeds, and dogmas, and articles of the faith. They have got to be; not, let it be understood, as if they added anything to the faith of the true believer. Not so! They are necessary as the testimony of the Church in its witness against errors in the past, and as a warning to her children how they are to be on their guard in the future. God knows witness-bearing is weary work at the best. He must be fond of controversy, indeed, who takes delight in it. Happy the day, oh! how earnestly to be longed after, and prayed for, when the Church shall be allowed to give herself up again to her proper work of prayer, and praise, and loving devotion to her Lord, and entire consecration to the holier, gentler ministries of healing the sick souls of sinful men.

The writer in the August number of this REVIEW, to whom reference has already been made, finds fault with two fundamental articles of the Christian faith. He would eliminate from the Creed the belief in the Resurrection of the Body and the Descent into Hell. Wherefore? Because Modern Science in the one case, and Mr. Huxley in the other, have made such beliefs no longer possible. Indeed! Now in opposition to the position taken by our objector, we hold theology to be a science with its own data, and with its own conclusions—conclusions which are not affected by modern science or by Mr. Huxley. That Jesus lived, and died, and was buried, and rose again, is one of the first principles of Christianity. Moreover, if there be any one article of the Christian faith which more than others is to be regarded as fundamental, it is the belief in “the resurrection of the dead.” The resurrection from the dead was the great burden of Apostolic preaching. It was the one great verity upon which the Apostles staked their all in challenging the acceptance of the faith. They affirmed that the same body which

was buried in the grave had in the person of Jesus Christ come to life again, and "ascended into heaven." Jesus Himself, according to the Gospels, had borne witness to the same truth. When Thomas doubted and thought he saw a spirit, Jesus showed him His hands and His feet, and made him thrust his finger into His side, to assure him that it was the very same Body which had hung upon the cross that was now before him. S. John, in like manner, affirms in opposition to those who denied that Jesus had come in the flesh, "We have handled of the Word of Life." But how did Jesus rise again? Not, we are assured, by evolution, or by any natural process, but by the supernatural operation of the Holy Ghost. The resurrection, it is constantly affirmed in Holy Scripture, was a supernatural act, not a process of nature. What then is it of faith to believe? As the Head, so are the members. The same Holy Spirit who raised Jesus from the dead shall also quicken our mortal bodies and make them like unto His own glorious Body. Why? Because we are members of His Body, and of His Flesh, and of His bones. The law by which we are to be quickened is a sacramental law, not a law of nature. Grant the premises, and the conclusion is inevitable: no scientific law is more infallible; none so certain in operation. Deny the premises—but we are not dealing with an infidel.

Yet more: If there be any one thing in which Christianity, as such, differs from all purely Ethnic religions, it is in the belief in "the resurrection of the body." Philosophy has taught the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; Christianity has always insisted upon a belief in "the resurrection of the body." And why? Because it is a first principle of revealed religion that the death of the body is not, in the case of man, a mere process of nature, but is a consequence of sin. If this be so, and it is necessary to the acceptance of revealed religion, both under the Old and New Testament, that we should believe it to be so, then if sin is to be done away through the work of Redemption, the body must be delivered from the grave, as well as the soul ransomed from Hades. If God made not death, but created man to be immortal, then to leave the body in the power of the destroyer would be to confess impotence, and to ac-

knowledge that the Divine purpose in Creation had been defeated. We hold accordingly that "the resurrection of the body" is necessary to the very notion of Redemption.

But what do we mean by a *Resurrection* of the body. If words have any proper meaning, a *Resurrection* means the raising again of the *same* body. The talk of the *Resurrection* of a body which had not been committed to the grave, is by the very nature of the term used, an absurdity. Either it is the same body that is raised again, or there is no *Resurrection* of the body at all. It was to meet an evasion of this very kind that the article of "the *Resurrection* of the flesh" (for so it is in the Greek and Latin symbols) was first inserted in the Creed. The Gnostics with one consent denied "the resurrection of the body." They could not do otherwise consistently with their belief in the inherent evil of matter. As they could not gainsay the plain teaching of Holy Scripture, they had recourse to the evasion: they perverted S. Paul's words by talking about a "spiritual body." To cut off all possibility of trickery and double dealing, the Church accordingly insisted upon "the resurrection of the *flesh*." "We believe," says S. Jerome, "the future resurrection of the body," which, if it be sincerely said, is a pure confession; but because there are celestial and terrestrial bodies, and the air and the ether, according to their natures, are called bodies, therefore they (the Gnostics) use the word body and not flesh: *corpus ponunt, non carnem, ut orthodoxus corpus audiens, carnem putat, haereticus Spiritum recognoscat. Hæc est prima decipula*. It is plain, then, to see what the early teachers of the faith had in mind by insisting upon "the resurrection of the flesh." They did not mean to deny that the body that is to be shall be different in *kind* (*alterum*) as existing under different conditions: they did mean to affirm that it will not be another creation (*aliud*). Thus Ruffinus, who was suspected of undue refinement and of Origenizing, says:

We do not say that the resurrection of the flesh shall be by a trick, as some calumniate us; but we believe that this very flesh in which we now live shall rise again; *we do not say one thing for another, neither any other body besides this flesh*. Whether, therefore, we say the body shall rise again, we speak according to the Apostle who made use of the word; or whether we say flesh,

we confess it according to the tradition of the Creed. For it is a foolish invention of calumny to say we think a human body different from flesh; for whether we say it is flesh according to the common faith, or a body, according to the Apostle, that shall rise again, so we must believe as the Apostle hath declared it.

It would appear, then, that while the teachers of the Church held flesh and body to be synonymous terms, they insisted upon "flesh" as the only term that could effectually secure the doctrine of the Resurrection against the quibbles and evasions of the heretics. Nor was it a war of words and mere abstractions. The Gnostics, in denying "the resurrection of the flesh," threw open the door to the abuse of the body and to all manner of sensual indulgence. They taught that as the resurrection is a spiritual resurrection, it is a matter of indifference how we defile the flesh, provided we grasp the spirit. Hence Hermas insists upon it in his fifth Similitude that "the flesh is to be guarded and kept incorruptible as a witness to the faith of the believer in the fact that the Flesh (the Incarnate Saviour) in which dwelt the Holy Spirit and served faithfully here on earth, is received by God as a co-heir with the same Holy Spirit."

The writer of the Epistle, commonly known as the Second Epistle of S. Clement, urges believers in like manner to "guard the flesh as a temple of God, for as we have been called and regenerated in the flesh, so also in the flesh shall we be raised again." It is not to be denied that Justin Martyr and Tertullian use oftentimes crass and material expressions when opposing the Gnostics, just as Origen sometimes errs in the other direction. After all, Origen has hit the nail upon the head, perhaps, when he sums the matter up in six words:—

σῶμα τοῦτο μὲν,
ἀλλ' οὐ τοιοῦτο.

The statements of Dr. Heartley, in his book on the Creeds, is impartial, and worthy of attention: "It is observable," he says, "that the English Creed, as set forth in 'The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,' in 1543 (XLVI.) exchanged 'the resurrection of the flesh' for the 'resurrection of the body.'" And since that time the latter has prevailed in our declarative formula. In the interrogative

Creed, used at Baptism and at the Visitation of the Sick, we still keep the ancient word—a word which it was once felt to be a matter of principle to hold fast by, as more effectually guarding the truth designed to be set forth than the other. For there were many heretics who, while they denied the “resurrection of the flesh,” endeavored to screen themselves from censure by ostentatiously professing that they believed “*resurrectionem corporis*.” When we consider in how many instances ancient heresies have been reproduced, we shall see reason to rejoice that the original word was adhered to in at least one of the versions, though at the same time it must be acknowledged that our “resurrection of THE body” does not present the ambiguity contained in. “*corporis resurrectionem*.” Apostolic usage, however, is a sufficient warrant for “*corporis*,” provided it be understood in the “Apostolic sense.” Mr. Wescott, it may be added, makes a suggestion not without value when he says S. Paul’s argument is based upon the notion that the body which now is, is to be regarded as the SEED of the body which is to be.

The objections raised against the descent into hell will be found upon examination to have even less force than those now urged against the resurrection of the body. Whether the American Church has done wisely or not in bracketing the article is an open question; practically it amounts to nothing, as the article is universally recited according to Catholic usage. It is plain, then, that the difficulty is not with the mass of the people, but is confined to a very few among the literary class. The alleged inconsistency of putting in the Articles what is left optional in the Creed, will be found to have something like a parallel in the action of the Church universal. It is well known that the “*descendit ad inferna*” had no place in the Eastern Creeds, nor in the early Roman Creed. It is first found in the Creed of Aquileia, from whence it gradually found its way into the Creed of the whole Western Church. It would appear, then, that the Roman Church, after reciting the Creed for at least four hundred years without the Article, at length allowed itself to be governed by common consent, and admitted it, then admitted in deference to popular

usage. Now, it is always to be remembered that many things were held as matters of faith which were not explicitly stated in the Creed of the Church. We are not to argue from the omission of an Article that it was not held as a matter of faith. The traditional and unwritten belief preceded the written and formulated statement. It is seldom that we find the whole Creed in any one Sacramentary: perhaps never. It was only when some article of the traditional Creed, handed down by oral tradition was in some particular locality denied, that the candidate for baptism was required to make an explicit statement of his belief in that particular article. The Creed, as such, was reckoned among the things which belonged to the secret discipline of the Church, and was as a whole taught *orally* before the candidate was brought to baptism; particular confession was required only of things which were openly denied.

Then, as to the objection that the word "Hell" is ambiguous and misleading, it may be answered that the Apostles' Creed states facts and does not aim at scientific expression, as the Nicene Creed does. Nothing more is meant by the "*descendit ad inferna*" than to bear witness to the fact that Jesus, in His humiliation, drank the cup of human sufferings to the dregs, and stooped to the very lowest depths of shame and punishment. It was necessary that He should not only bear the punishment of sin in the body: He must also in His soul subject Himself to the bondage of the prison house, where souls for a time were held under the power of Death and Hell. S. Leo accordingly speaks of Jesus as submitting Himself to the laws of hell (*leges inferni*) in dying. Irenaeus says that by His abode in hell Jesus "observed the laws of the dead" (*legem mortuorum servavit.*) So again S. Hilary: "To fulfil the nature of man, Jesus subjected Himself to death, as it is a law of human necessity that the bodies, being buried, the souls should descend into hell, which descent the Lord did not refuse for the consummation of a perfect man." Why was the early Church so strenuous in insisting upon this as a law of humanity, and as bound up with the mystery of the Incarnation? It was to meet the heresy of the Apollinarians, just as "the resurrection of the flesh" was to be confessed in

opposition to Gnostic error. The Apollinarians, with a view of adjusting more easily the union between the Divine and human natures of our Lord, denied that He had a *human* soul. "How," asks Athanasius, "will you say that there was a heavenly mind in Christ instead of a human soul? Was His Body divided into two parts? Did one part appear in the grave and another in hell? *How was it possible for Him without a soul to descend into hell?*"

It is deeply to be regretted that objectors disposed to question such articles as the Descent into Hell do not recognize the necessity at all times of conforming themselves within the bounds of legitimate discussion. The very mention of the word "Hell" nowadays is like flaunting a red rag in the face of an infuriated animal. Why should it be so? When we think of the awfulness of the image presented by "a lake of fire"; when it is remembered that it is an image not peculiar to Christianity, but may claim for its use a kind of universal consent: the very thought of the possibility of eternal woe, if it were only a horrid dream—is surely enough to make men speak with bated breath; instead of sporting with such a thought, would not pity prompt us to lift up our hands and hearts in the spirit of earnest supplication to the All-Merciful that He will avert from us and ours the possibility of such a doom? Then, when we call to mind that our Lord himself, in one of His parables, depicts a child of luxury begging for a drop of water to cool the tongue parched by the agony of the tormenting flame, are we to think that He is only trifling with our fears? Piety and consideration for the cherished belief of others apart, however (even if it be a dark superstition), is it not, after all, the extreme of philosophical pedantry to object to the use of material images in representing spiritual truth? Is not all language rooted in material symbolism? Is not truth apprehended by the senses before it is received into the understanding, under the form of logical conceptions? And if Eternal Truth, in order to get possession of the uneducated many as well as the educated few, condescends to accommodate itself to the apprehension of such as are still under the dominion of the senses, will it not be regarded as a token of charity, not

treated as a mark of folly? Granted that "the burning lake" and "the never-dying worm" and the "unquenchable thirst" are crass and material images, what we need to guard against is that the educated taste which can afford to dispense with the material image, shall not also try to get rid of the thing represented by the image, and end in denying the eternal nature of the distinction between good and evil.

Now (preliminaries disposed of) let us proceed to consider the objection urged against some of the Articles of Religion. And here it may be well again to call to mind that the Church has never of her own motion set herself to form a Creed. She has in every age borne witness to the Faith in opposition to Error. It was the Gnostic heresy as we have seen which led to the formal confession of "the resurrection of the flesh." It was the Apollinarian heresy which led the whole Western Church at the last to place the "*descendit ad inferna*" in the Apostolic Symbol. Now it is not true of the Articles of Religion as it is true of the Ecumenic Symbols, that they are "explicit" statements of the unwritten tradition and belief of the Church. The Articles are apologetic in their nature. They are intended to give a reason for the position taken in relation to existing systems—Roman, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Arminian. The Articles do not attempt to define the faith. They take for granted the Catholic faith as embodied in the three great Symbols. The Articles are directed against perversions and corruptions of the faith; not against those who have never held the faith or positively deny its fundamental tenets. The Articles are of obligations upon the conscience, not as fundamental, but as subsidiary. They are to be received, not as touching the faith, but as guarding it. The Articles are many-sided; some have to do with mediæval accretions and superstitions; some with popular Protestant excesses and misrepresentations of Gospel truths. The Articles are binding upon the clergy; not as dogmatic statements of Catholic verities, but as authorized definitions of the Anglican Church in matters affecting her relation to parties within and without her pale. It is, in my judgment, a silly conceit to affect to despise the Articles.

We may bewail, as we ought, the loss of organic unity. Who does not? It is indeed a pitiful sight to see a host that ought to be united as one man against the foe, divided and broken up into opposing camps. As to whose fault it all is—how much it is to be attributed to priestly pride—how much to popular self-will—how much to private ambition and greed of gain—these are questions we cannot now stop to answer. The inevitable fact remains; the once united host is now, alas! divided. It is at least, then, the duty of every man who deliberately and of choice assumes the position of a *leader* in the fight, to have a clear and well-defined conception of the relation which that portion of the army in which he elects to serve, stands to the other camps drawn up in arms upon the field of battle. This, at least, every man owes to his own self-respect. Unfortunately, there are men who have no loyalty. They are self-seekers, not soldiers. They like to forage a little in every camp. They like to play the role of favorites, and find it a pleasant thing to taste of the good things going, wherever found. Such men may be left to their fate. They will be sure to skulk and run when they smell the smoke of the battle, and will be found at last where they belong—in the ranks of the enemy.

The Sixth Article, "Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation," to which exception has been taken, affords a notable illustration of the distinction made between the Catholic and the Apologetic position of the Anglican Church; and of the relative obligations imposed upon the clergy accordingly. The Anglican Church declares that she understands by Holy Scriptures "those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church." She states explicitly what she means by this statement in the case of the Old Testament. She deems as binding the twenty-two Books of the Old Testament which the Jewish Church received without question and the Christian Church afterwards confirmed as Canonical. Certain other Books she puts among apocryphal writings; they are to be used, she says, for edification and for reading in the Church, but not for doctrine. Now, why did she do all this? Because the Council of Trent, in a

hasty moment, arrogating to itself *absolute* claims over the Bible, without reference to the tradition of the Church and in opposition to previous councils, gave to the Apocrypha a position it never occupied before. To this the Church of England objected. She was willing and ready to receive the Books of the Old Testament which had been admitted without question to the Canon, but she refused to be a party to the novelty which the Council of Trent, for purposes of its own, had invented. As there was no question *at the time*, however it may have been before, in any portion of the Catholic world regarding the Canon of the New Testament, she did not feel obliged to raise past issues. It will be observed, then, that the Anglican Church does not take upon itself to determine what books are to be regarded as canonical: in this matter she submits her judgment to the Church universal. Her motto here, as elsewhere, is, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. Her contention is not with the universal Church, but with the Roman Church; and with the action of the Council of Trent. The question is asked, "How are uninspired men to decide what is inspired, what is not?" An attempt is made to represent the action of the Church in the matter as a *reductio ad absurdum*. "Inspiration then depends," it is said, "on an uninspired *dixit*." It is needless to say that it is on the part of the objector an instance of *ignorantia elenchi*. The corporate Church is not a rabble of "uninspired men." The Canon of Holy Scripture has been fixed by no arbitrary decree. If the objector will take the trouble to search into the history of the Canon, he will find that every book of Holy Scripture was subjected to the test of *use* and of *approval* on the part of the *whole* Church before being finally admitted into the Canon. When approved, the writing was acknowledged as duly tested. The Council of the Church, in its action, did nothing more than bear witness to the fact that the writing had been tested and accepted, and after trial, "by reason of use," had received the stamp of authority on the part of the body whose claim it is (rightly or wrongly) that its voice is the voice of the Holy Spirit. The question, then, is not about the inspiration of this or that Book, but about the authority of the Church to apply

tests to prove the difference between the true and the false, and the verity of the promise made to the Church by her Divine Head that the Holy Ghost bestowed upon the day of Pentecost should guide her into all truth. The Pentecostal gift, let it be added, is no figment, no mere assumption; it is just as much a fact as the fact of the Incarnation itself, and rests upon the same basis of historical credibility. There is no question, then, regarding what a priest in the Anglican Church is bound to do and to teach on the subject of Holy Scriptures. He cannot do, as Luther did, object to this or that Book, because it does not favor his own pet scheme or doctrine; he cannot make his own inward light the source of his judgment regarding what is or what is not necessary to salvation. The much disputed Song of Solomon is a case in point. It was not admitted into the Canon hastily, nor without long and anxious debate. It stands upon the very same authority as the Psalms and the prophecy of Ezekiel. The question was finally settled at the meeting of the Sanhedrim held at Jabne, and has never been opened since. How men differ! I have before me the treatise of S. Augustine, entitled "*De Spiritu et Littera.*" That great saint and doctor says, in speaking of the law and the Old Testament, that the teaching of the law without the life-giving Spirit is the "letter that killeth." "*Neque enim solò illo modo intelligendum est, quod legimus, 'Littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat, ut aliquid figurate scriptum, cujus est absurda proprietas, non accipimus sicut littera sonat, sed aliud quod significat intuentes, interiorum hominem spirituali intelligentia nutriamus, quoniam 'Sapere secundum carnem mors est, sapere autem secundum spiritum vita et pax.'*" And he instances the Song of Solomon as a case in point: "*Velut si quisquam multa quæ Scripta sunt in Cantico Canticorum carnaliter accipiat, non ad luminosæ charitatus fructum, sed ad libidinosæ cupiditatis affectum.*"

Surely the advocate of a revision of the articles must have forgotten himself, when in view of such a declaration, in which the great teacher of the West bears his testimony to the universal voice of the Eastern Church (with one notable exception), he ventures to speak of the traditional interpre-

tation of the Song of Songs as "blasphemy;" it is a judgment only less irreverent than that which lately pronounced it to be "disgusting." It is unfortunate for modern objectors that the only name which they can claim in sympathy with their views, is Theodore of Mopsuestia—that more than doubtful character—who in advocating the liberal interpretation was condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople for saying things "unutterable to Christian ears." If there be one portion of Holy Scriptures which more than another in every age of the Church has been the food of devout souls, it has been this most Divine *Comœdia*. It has been incorporated into the Office books of devout women: "Return, return O! Shulamite" is the refrain of the Vesper Office which souls vowed to chastity have sung for ages to honor the Heavenly Bridegroom. Patristic literature contains nothing which can compare in a devotional way with the sermons of S. Bernard on the first two chapters of the Book of Canticles. No book ever written breathes a spirit of purer, diviner love than "Avril-lon's Year of the Affections," where following in the steps of the Bridegroom and the Bride, he leads the soul through the three stages of the contemplative, the illuminative, and the unitive life. The devout Krummacher says in one of his sermons on the Song of Solomon, "It seems to me indeed as though the Song of Songs were adopted by special pre-eminence for our Church Sacramental Meditation; nor am I the first to entertain this view. The Communion-hymn 'O Fels des Heils' which we so justly love, flowed almost entirely verse for verse, in regard both of contents and form, out of the Song of Songs." And this is the Book that is to be taken out of the Canon by the lights of Modern Science! It is surely a case, where, if anywhere, the saying applies, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. It is objected that it is a love song. And is not love the strongest, the noblest, the purest passion of the human soul? God is love. Is the passion of love then to be excluded from the Book which is as wide in its scope as humanity itself; the Book which leaves no passion that it does not, by sanctifying, seek to redeem; the Book whose one great theme is the "bridal of earth and sky" in the union of Divinity with humanity in

the person of the Incarnate God. "For my part," said the great Niebuhr, "I should deem something wanting to the Bible if no expression were there found for the deepest and strongest of human feelings." The truth is, it is the breadth of the Bible and not its narrowness that disturbs modern thought. Where in all literature since the world began can there be found an exhibition of the passion "love" so pure; a piece of acting (the late lamented Professor of Oriental literature in the Johns Hopkins University characterizes it by the name of "Comedy" in the older and better sense of the word) so spotless as the Song of Solomon. Let it be compared with the love songs of Greece and Rome, or even with the Epithalamium of our own Spencer; and the difference is unmistakable. The literary taste that can apply the term "disgusting" to such a production, only proves that it is itself debased.

It will not be necessary to consider in detail the strictures made upon the Ninth, Tenth and Seventeenth Articles. We have always been of the opinion that Mr. Darwin in his way has been preaching a very good Gospel to the men of the Nineteenth Century. It is certainly better theology than that sung in our Sunday Schools, and by the disciples of Emmanuel Swedenborg, in the hymn, "Would I were an Angel." It is something to know that man's animal nature with its instincts and its passions, is just as much a part of a man as his spiritual being, and is deserving of some other fate besides that of annihilation. This has been the teaching of the Catholic Church, the ages all along, in the war it has waged upon Gnostics and Manichees, and Apollinarians and others. It has resisted the theory of Emanation in the attempt made by the Gnostics to bridge over the gulf between matter and spirit, just as it now proclaims itself to be the foe of Positivism and its theory of evolution. We are told to look forward to the time when Evolution shall teach Theology better than it knows about the cardinal mysteries of the Christian faith; and, above all, about Original Sin. Never! so long as it remains written; "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Written over the door of entrance to the heavenly kingdom is the motto, which

never shall be effaced so long as time shall last, "You must be born again." Not by a process of evolution from beneath, but from above by the gift of a new life, is the change to come. There is a "first Adam," and there is a "second Adam." The first was made a "living soul," the last was made a "quickeningspirit;" and as we have borne "the image of the earthy," we shall also bear "the image of the heavenly." The "second Adam" is not evolved out of the "first;" nor can a "living soul" by any process of transformation become a "quickeningspirit." Nor is this the teaching of the New Testament only. It is the same unvarying declaration of the *absolute* difference between "flesh" and "spirit" that we meet with throughout all stages of Divine Revelation. "My spirit" says God when he is about to bring a flood upon the earth, "shall not always strive with man, seeing that he also is flesh (*bashar*). So again the Prophet, "All flesh is grass, and all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field. The grass withereth the flower fadeth, because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it; surely the people is grass. The grass withereth the flower fadeth, but the word of the Lord shall stand forever." We have touched upon a principle which in its application will be found to furnish a solution of most of the difficulties connected with the Articles which have to do with the vexed questions of Predestination and Free-will and Original Sin. Nothing at times is more dangerous than the craving after what men call simplicity and logical consistency. Kant in his "Critic of Pure Reason" tells us that "If we apply our reason, not merely for the use of the principles of the understanding to objects of experience, but venture to extend such out beyond the limits of the latter, sophistical theorems arise, which neither look for confirmation in experience, nor fear opposition, and each of which is not only in itself in that condition, but in fact finds in the nature of reason, conditions of its necessity; only that, unfortunately, the contrary has equally as valid and as necessary grounds of affirmation on its side." We find accordingly that there are certain fundamental truths of revealed religion which it is impossible to state explicitly without running counter to other truths, as necessary and as

well established themselves. It is to a biune or complex, not to a simple proposition that our assent is asked. The trial and test of faith in such a case, is to receive both truths, and to hold both explicitly and without reserve. The relation of God's grace to man's free-will is a case in point. Pelagius out of the very best of motives, and with a view to rouse up indolent souls who pleaded weakness as an excuse for their evil doing, insisted upon the ability which is man's possession through his gift of free-will, to do the will of God. But in so doing he did not give the consideration he ought to the limitations which the sad experience of human infirmity, and the power of evil habit, impose upon the freedom of the will as a working principle. His mistake was that he relied "upon the sense of bare ability, as if it were an infallible footing for the most complete conclusion." And this, as Dr. Mozley observes, was to set up "not a reasonable, but a fanatical doctrine of free-will." It is of faith to believe that man is free, but it is also of faith to believe that man is at every stage of his being dependent on his Maker. Man is indeed free to make himself free if he will; but such a freedom is death. As S. Augustine said in reply to all autonomy of the human will, "God has made man for Himself, and he cannot rest except in Him." True freedom consists in union with God, and in abiding in fellowship with Him. Man by the surrender of his *formal* freedom is to attain at the last to *real* freedom; a freedom made perfect in love and self-surrender. When God made man at the first then, He did not leave him in the state of mere nature to seek after him if haply he might find Him. He placed man in an environment (to use a pet word of modern science) where he was admitted to communion with God, and was permitted to see the vision of His face. We cannot separate *man* from his environment any more than we can think of a fish out of water or a bird out of the air. But man's true environment, if we are to believe the Bible, is not the state of Nature as the philosophers vainly teach, but the conditions of life and being in Paradise; man, in other words, was created in grace. Paradise and all that is represented by it is his proper environment, not the so-called state, of Nature. This is

what theology means when it speaks of the *supernaturale donum*, which was man's at the beginning. The supernatural gift is the algebraic formula (so to speak) for the Biblical account of Paradise. Now the teaching of St. Augustine as opposed to the teaching of Pelagius was that the state of grace is the condition of being *natural* to man, and not the condition represented by a state of pure Nature. When we come to consider the question of the Fall, we may represent it to ourselves, either under the Biblical form of a casting out of Paradise; or according to the theological formula of the loss of the *supernaturale donum*. But under whatsoever form we represent it to ourselves, two things are to be kept in mind. The Fall considered as the casting out of Paradise or the loss of the "supernatural gift of the spirit" is *negative*; it is the loss of something and not supernatural, and yet not an addition to man's proper nature since the state of grace. But the state of nature is natural to *man*. But when looked at, not on its negative but on its *positive* side, as a casting forth into a mere state of nature, or as the leaving man to follow the lead of his own blind instincts, and carnal reason unassisted, by the illuminating grace of God's holy spirit, the Fall assumes another and an entirely different aspect. The animal instincts and appetites and passions take on the form of carnal concupiscence or lust, the *fomes peccati* or φρόνημα σαρκός, which is of the nature of sin. "Hence" as S. Thomas Aquinas says, "the deprivation of original righteousness is the *formal* cause of original sin, and the disorder in all the faculties of the soul, the *material* cause; and that disorder manifests itself in the perverted affection for transitory good, which we call concupiscence,"

The Article on Original Sin then, we submit, is not "to be recast with reference to evolution," any more than the second account of the creation of man is not to be taken out of the Bible to suit those who, following Pelagius and the scientists, insist that man was created *only* in the state of nature. The spirit which God breathed into man when He took him out of the state of nature and transplanted him into the state of grace was not *evolved* out of the spirit which animates nature—it was a *supernatural* gift. The "tree

of life " and the " tree of knowledge of good and evil " did not grow out of the ground; they were *planted* there by God's own hand. It is still the old controversy under a new form; it is still *Naturalism*, " a denial of the necessity of supernatural and direct grace in order to any true service of God on the part of man." But if any one thing, more than another, could prove the value of the Article, it is the fact that the sect of the Adamites against whose heretical teachings the concluding portion of the IX Article was directed, should still survive and have a representative in the New World, and in the Nineteenth Century, among ourselves, in the person of a writer in the " *American Church Review*." The old " Adamites maintained that they were in as good a state as Adam before the Fall, therefore, without original sin." The new Adamites, in the person of their Coryphæus, maintain that " Development as well as Evolution necessitates the belief that men of the present day are *better*, morally as well as physically, than Adam or Eve was."

Pelagius made another mistake, in which he is followed by his modern disciple. Pelagius separated the individual from the race of which he is a part, and went upon the theory that men came from the hand of God by an immediate Divine creative act, so that one cannot, in any sense of the word, be said to bear the sins of the other. Now, here again we meet with one of those antinomies of which we have already spoken. It is true that we are individually responsible for our acts, and each will have to give account for himself before God. But, it is also true that the human race is a unit—an organism which brings forth after its kind. We come into the world members of a family. The law of heredity is a fixed law of nature. We come into the world with predispositions, and with inherited qualities. The soul is not, as Locke would have, a *tabula rasa* at the first. There is a sense, too, in which the children are punished for the wrong doing of their fathers. It was this belief, not the doctrine of *future* rewards and punishments, which, under the old dispensation, was the prevailing view of God's moral government. " The fact which implies original sin " is manifest, " and as our

objector himself elsewhere admits, 'writ large' on our daily experience of human perversity and depravity." "Pelagius," Canon Bright says, "persuaded himself that it would be unjust that the first man's son should thus compromise his posterity, except by way of example and imitation. The notion was probably welcome to him as supporting his optimist view of human capacity for goodness; but in taking it up he made his anthropology superficial, neglected deep facts, impaired his perception of evil by disallowing its mystery, and impoverished his Christianity by being forced to explain away S. Paul."

The same profound scholar tells us in his introduction to the "Anti-Pelagian Treatises of S. Augustine," in words which are so judicious that I cannot refrain from quoting them at large.

The warnings of his (Pelagius) story have a peculiar significance for an age which has its own ways of absorbing the supernatural into the natural, and of attenuating spiritual evil on the one hand, and the special gifts and powers of the Gospel on the other. The Pelagian spirit has a strong vitality, and often reappears in unexpected forms. It seems to affect the religious thought of not a few Englishmen (and Americans), who have hardly so much as heard of Pelagius. In our time, too, the evil from Calvinism has been singularly vehement and destructive; and students who now come fresh to S. Augustine's Anti-Pelagian writings will probably be more offended than their predecessors of two or three centuries back, at some extreme statements on Grace, and the Fall into which he is led by his controversial intensity. These, however, may be noted as extreme. To put aside for the present his severe predestinarianism we may believe in the reality of internal grace, as enabling the soul, which responds to its touch, and which *does* so respond by its assistance to believe what would have otherwise been beyond its capacity, without admitting that this touch *determines* the response which it solicits and makes possible, or that the evil which needs Divine aid acts 'unaided,' in accepting it, instead of owing to that which stirs it; the power to answer to the stirring, or that it cannot refuse to be thus aided, in virtue of that 'melancholy power of baffling the Divine good will' which the law of probation preserves to man through life. We may believe, again, on the authority of Scripture, that the sin of the 'first man' entailed on his posterity a condition of sinfulness, which not only drew along with it the penalty of death, but involved a disorder and taint of the whole inner nature, and therefore rendered all in whom it existed offensive to the Divine holiness. While yet we may avoid language which would suggest a literal imputation of Adam's sin to each of his descendants, admit that 'sin' can bear only a modified sense in regard to what is not personal, acknowledge a certain operation of grace in the production of goodness among the unregenerate, and decline to adopt a vigorous application of the doctrine of inherited 'condemnation' to all who die unbaptized.

Now, it is this very moderation of tone to which persons mostly object in the statements to be found in the Articles which have to do with Original Sin, Predestination and Election. Men say that the language is ambiguous, and that one portion of the Article is an offset against another. It is true, and to thoughtful minds such as the Roman Catholic Moehler, it is the very thing which commends the Articles to consideration. There is something in the world besides logic and consistency and the clear statement of truth. In the ordinary affairs of life we constantly appeal to practical experience, as a solvent of many an inexplicable dilemma. There is a logic of fact, an invincible logic, as we say, that is better than all the logic of the schools. This is not to disparage logic but to limit it. Men continually forget that logic is not, and never was, intended to be a guide to the discovery of truth. It is valuable aid to the discovery of error, but is without any avail in the finding out of the truth itself. The premises given, true or false, the conclusion follows; but the premises rest on another basis besides that of argument. When, then, we meet, as we do meet, antinomies like Nature and Grace, Predestination and Free Will, a Trinity in Unity, we are to use logic to aid us in maintaining the *analogy* of the Faith, not for the purpose of setting the premises as a logical contradiction over against another. Nor is it indifferent in such cases, which premises we shall place first in the order of thought and which second. In dealing with the Mystery of the Ever Blessed Trinity, we must follow the natural or economic order, and place the Unity first or we shall become Tritheists. When we consider the mystery of the operation of Nature and Grace, we must again follow the natural order, and remember that man was created in Grace, and afterwards fell away into the state of Nature. This is the strong point of S. Augustine's position, as opposed to the position of Pelagius and the Rationalists. So in Election and Free Will, we must think first of the Divine call as an act of prevenient Grace, or we shall fall into the old error of the Pharisees and the Jewish schools of thought, who taught the doctrine of the absolute autonomy of the human will.

Will we be pardoned, in concluding, for suggesting that the legal mind, forced as it continually is into the position of argument, is disposed to place an undue value upon logical consistency in the statement of truth? It is difficult for an opponent to give due weight and consideration to arguments which are just as good on the other side of the question. From one point of view, the argument is faultless; but there is another point of view, possibly, and the argument on that side is equally faultless. This is what Kant means by his "sophistical theorems," against which he warns us. The old Sophists were all admirable logicians and rhetoricians; their one fault was, they would undertake to argue any side of a question for pay. It is very worthy of note that Cœlestius, the friend of Pelagius, and the great propagator of his system, was a lawyer. It was the simplicity and logical consistency of the scheme which recommended the teachings of Pelagius to him. Tertullian, too, was, without doubt, in early life an advocate. He was an admirable pleader, but lacked breadth, was impatient and intolerant. He was never able to throw off a semi-materialistic habit of thought. He pressed the doctrine of Traducianism to its extreme development, and was not able to see the truth involved in Creationism. He became a Montanist at the last. He could not reconcile the call to be a saint with the notion of moral probation. He pushed the unworldly and ascetic side of Christian life so far, that he looked askant upon all social converse, and finally broke away from the Church because she would not cast out of her membership all who would not, or could not, reach the standard of perfection. Theology we hold to be, of its very nature, the broadest of all sciences, and a well-trained theologian the most tolerant of men.

THOMAS RICHEY.

THE DECLARATION OF THE BISHOPS.

IN the summer of 1878, there assembled at Lambeth, for mutual conference, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, one hundred (that was the exact number) "Archbishops, Bishops Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, in full communion with the Church of England," seventeen of them (embracing such representative names as Lee, of Delaware, and Stevens, of Pennsylvania, on the one hand, and Potter, of New York, and Doane, of Albany, on the other), being from our own branch of that Communion.

Following upon this, at the General Convention in New York, in 1880, fifty-three of the sixty-one of our Bishops entitled to seats in the House of Bishops, being all that were in attendance, adopted "in Council" and set their names to the following (see Journal, p. 263):

WHEREAS, The Lambeth Conference of 1878, set forth the following declaration, to wit:—

We gladly welcome every effort for reform upon the model of the Primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity: we deprecate needless divisions; but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavor to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition we are ready to offer all help and such privileges as may be acceptable to them, and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies;

Which declaration rests upon two indisputable historical facts:—

First, That the body calling itself the Holy Roman Church has, by the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1565, and by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, and by the decree of the Infallibility of the Pope in 1870, imposed upon the consciences of all the members of the National Churches under its sway, as of the faith to be held as of implicit necessity to salvation, dogmas having no warrant in Holy Scripture or the ancient Creeds, which dogmas are so radically false as to corrupt and defile the faith;

And, second, That the assumption of a universal Episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, making operative the definition of Papal Infallibility, has deprived of its original independence the Episcopal Order in the Latin Churches, and substituted for it a Papal Vicariate for the superintendence of dioceses; while the virtual change of the Divine Constitution of the Church, as founded in the

Episcopate and the other Orders, into a Tridentine Consolidation, has destroyed the autonomy, if not the corporate existence, of National Churches;

Now, therefore, we, Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in Council as Bishops in the Church of God, asserting the principles declared in the Lambeth Conference, and in order to the maintaining of a true unity, which must be a unity in the truth, do hereby affirm:—

That the great primitive rule of the Catholic Church, *Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, imposes upon the Episcopate of all National Churches holding the primitive Faith and Order, and upon the several Bishops of the same, not the right only, but the duty also, of protecting, in the holding of that Faith and the recovering of that Order, those who, by the methods before described, have been deprived of both.

The Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in Council, not meaning to dispute the validity of Consecrations by a single Consecrator, put on record their conviction that, in the organization of reformed Churches with which we may hope to have communion, they should follow the teaching of the Canon of Nicæa; and that, where consecration cannot be had by three Bishops of the province, Episcopal orders should at all events be conferred by three Bishops of National Churches.

This action of the Bishops, resting as it does on principles that are elementary, and adopted and subscribed to as it was by all the Bishops present in Council, and as it undoubtedly would have been by the few that were absent, had they been present, would find, one would suppose, universal acceptance among us. Nevertheless, it has been excepted to from opposite quarters and on opposite grounds. On the one hand, we are told that the Old Catholics—for it is these, as is shown by the declaration about “one consecrator,” that the action has specially in view—are only in part, and indeed in very small part, reformed, and that therefore we cannot have fellowship or sympathy with them; on the other, we are told that any action expressive of such fellowship or sympathy would be a schismatical intrusion on the jurisdiction of Rome. Let us consider each of these in its order.

In the first place, even granting that the Old Catholics are only in part, nay, in very small part, reformed, it does not follow that we can have no fellowship, still less that we can have no sympathy with them. We can, of course, have no fellowship with false doctrine, but we may have fellowship with those who hold false doctrine, provided they do

not claim to impose it upon us as a part of the faith and a term of communion. To illustrate, Calvinism and Arminianism are contradictory opposites, and cannot therefore both be the truth of God. In fact, neither of them is that truth, pure and simple. Yet we may have fellowship with those who hold either the one or the other, so long as they do not seek to impose their holding upon us under anathema.

Now, analogous to this, as I understand it, is the position of the Old Catholics. Most of them, probably, accept a considerable portion of Roman doctrine as formulated by the Council of Trent; but they do not require the acceptance of such formularization by others as a condition of communion, and therefore we may have fellowship with them.

But they deny the foundation, it will be urged, and therefore we may not have fellowship with them. I reply, with Hooker, they deny the foundation not directly, but "by consequent;" with those who deny the foundation *directly* we can have no fellowship, for we have no common ground to stand on; but with those who deny the foundation *by consequent* we may have fellowship, for it is because they do not see the consequence that they accept the formularization. The remedy for this is brotherly conference and interchange of thought, in which it may be found that they have something to give, as well as take.

But this, it will be said, is the position of the Ritualists. I answer, then the Ritualists are right. But I fear there are some Ritualists so called (not many I am glad to believe) that this is not the position of; some that are drawing nearer and nearer to that from which the Old Catholics are drawing farther and farther away. The difference between such and the Old Catholics is this: the one are "looking unto the hills from whence cometh their help," and are surely, if slowly, making their way upwards; the other are hurrying down the *facilis descensus*, and who can tell where they will end? At this present, the two are midway, it may be, and for the moment, therefore, in the same *locus*; but the face of the one is as though they would go up to Jerusalem; of the other, as though they would go down to Babylon. The one are "waiting for the Lord more

than they that watch for the morning;" as a consequence their eyes are already gladdened with "the rising light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." The other are in the evening twilight, the gloaming and the glooming, deepening into death and doom. God be merciful unto them, and show them the light of his countenance and of his truth, "to the intent that they may return into the way of righteousness," and "*avoid those things that are contrary to their profession*, and follow all such things as are agreeable to the same, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

I think I have said enough on the one objection; I turn, therefore, to the other, to wit, that any action on our part expressive of fellowship or sympathy with the Old Catholics would be a schismatical intrusion on the jurisdiction of Rome.

If they who make this objection mean by "jurisdiction of Rome" the jurisdiction claimed for the Bishop of Rome as Universal Bishop or Pope, they stultify themselves; for they thereby proclaim themselves schismatics. If they mean by it his Patriarchal jurisdiction, the answer is, the Roman Patriarchate never extended even over the north of Italy; much less over the countries outside of it: it was confined to the middle and south of that peninsula, the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, and other small islands adjacent. If they mean by it his jurisdiction as original Founder, or subsequently adopted Head, of the Churches of Germany, Switzerland, &c., then, leaving, for argument's sake, these allegations unquestioned, we fall back upon the "two indisputable historical facts" of the Declaration of the Bishops above given.

The first of these "facts" is the imposing on the consciences of men, at the time of the Reformation, and in our own day, of new dogmas, "so radically false as to corrupt and defile the faith." By this "imposition," Rome has, according to principles universally recognized and acted upon by the Catholic Church of the first ages, ousted herself of any jurisdiction she may have originally had. She has, and can have, no mission even to preach—still less to impose on the consciences of men—Vaticanism, or even Tri-

dentine Romanism, *anywhere*; not even in the Eternal City itself.

The other "fact" I give again in the words of the declaration itself:

That the assumption of a universal Episcopate by the Bishop of Rome, making operative the definition of Papal Infallibility, has deprived of its original independence the Episcopal Order in the Latin Churches, and substituted for it a Papal Vicariate for the superintendence of Dioceses; while the virtual change of the Divine Constitution of the Church, as founded in the Episcopate and the other Orders, into a Tridentine Consolidation, has destroyed the autonomy, if not the corporate existence, of National Churches.

In other words, according to present Roman theory and practice, strictly speaking, the Bishop of Rome is the only Bishop of Christ's Church; the other so called Bishops are merely his vicars, or lieutenants, his henchmen, his slaves, to do his bidding. He saith to this one, Go, and he goeth; to that one, Come, and he cometh; to the other, Do this, and he doeth it. They are not a separate *Order* from the Priests, but only holders (for the time being) of a separate office. Their priesthood is *indelible*. Not so their bishophood: no, nor even their manhood. They have abdicated it. Not one of them dare say his soul is his own. They belong to another, and that other a mortal man like themselves. They are his *creatures*. He is their creator, and only during his good-pleasure is the breath of Episcopal life in their nostrils. When he promulgates a new dogma, not one of them dare "move the wing, or open the mouth, or peep" (Isai. x. 14).

And yet we are bid believe that the voice of a herd of such subjects assembled in conclave to register the edict of their master is the voice of the Holy Ghost! God forbid that we should admit any such blasphemous claim. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

And it is into the jurisdiction of *such* bishops that we are told we may not intrude! I answer, We cannot intrude, even if we would, for there is nothing to intrude into. So long as they occupy their present status, they have no jurisdiction in the Church of Christ. He, the great Head of the Church, never authorized such bishops.

He never gave ultimate authority to one Bishop over *any* other; still less, over *every* other. That authority resides in the whole body. Each is subject to all. In the words of the Declaration, quoted from that "pacific Bishop and glorious Martyr"—so S. Augustine calls him—Cyprian, who, pacific as he was, never failed to "contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered 'to the saints," and, in doing it, repeatedly withstood the *Roman* Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed—*Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur: i. e.*, "The Episcopate is one, and of it an undivided share is held by each and every Bishop."

Herein rests, humanly speaking, the security of the Church. In the words of the Declaration, this "great primitive rule of the Catholic Church," thus formulated by S. Cyprian, "imposes upon the Episcopates of all National Churches holding the primitive Faith and Order, and upon the several Bishops of the same," because each has an undivided share, "not the right only, but the duty also, of protecting, in the holding of that Faith and the recovering of that Order, those who, by the methods before described," or, I may add, by any other, "have been deprived of both."

The "right" *involves* the "duty." The only open question is, *How* is that right to be exercised, that duty performed? And the answer is, "Not unadvisedly or lightly, but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

EDWARD J. STEARNS.

A REMINISCENCE.

APROPOS OF ASSISTANT BISHOPS.

DR. HOPKINS, in his able and (I may add) unanswerable article in the September number of *THE AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW*, speaking of Canon 15, Title I., which in its

original form dates back to 1829, says: "All the cases arising under this Canon before the year 1867 were uncontested cases." He forgets, or perhaps, as it took place before his day, is not aware of the action of the Standing Committee of Pennsylvania (*et tu, quoque, Brute*) in a precisely similar case a quarter of a century earlier.

In the autumn of 1842, the Rev. John Johns, D. D., was consecrated to the Episcopate as Assistant Bishop of Virginia, and thereupon took up his residence in Richmond, of which city I was also at that time a resident. In the following winter, or it may have been in the spring, I think it was in the winter, I was present by invitation at a gathering of the city clergy along with the Assistant Bishop, at the house of the Rev. Dr. Woodbridge, to meet Bishop Meade, who, having been on a visitation, had just driven, in his "buggy" all the way from Lynchburg to Richmond.

The fact of this drive all the way I particularly remember, for on the arrival of the "buggy" in Richmond there was found in it a package addressed to the Assistant Bishop, which, on being opened, proved to be a handsome present of the fragrant weed from Mr. Leftwich, a distinguished tobacco manufacturer of Lynchburg; and it came out, in the course of the evening, much to the amusement of all present, that the Bishop had been asked to take charge of the package, but, with his well known dislike of this "particular vanity," and disinclination to be made partaker in other men's "small vices," had declined; whereupon Mr. Leftwich had managed to have it smuggled into the "buggy," and so the good Bishop had unwittingly brought it with him.

We were all congratulating the Bishop on his looking so well after his long drive, and one of those present said to him: "Bishop, if the Standing Committee of Pennsylvania could see you now, they would say they were right in declining to consent to the consecration of an Assistant Bishop on the score of your being disabled by old age or other permanent cause of infirmity."

Certainly they would have said so, and they would have said right; for he was *not* permanently disabled, as is proved by the fact that he lived and did good service

for nigh twenty years after. Had Virginia come to the last General Convention asking its ratification of a *division* of the diocese—and she admitted that it was too large for its Bishop by asking of that same Convention leave to elect an assistant on the score of extent of territory—that Bishop, instead of being now and for some months past travelling in search of health, might be doing full duty, without inconvenience to himself, in his diminished jurisdiction, while the other portion, having a Bishop of its own, would be amply provided for.

EDWARD J. STEARNS.

THE TRAINING OF CHURCH CHOIRS.

NOW that the choral service with its surpliced choir has come to be an accepted feature of the Church in America, as well as of the Church in England, and the mixed quartette, with its camp-meeting abominations and adaptations from Italian opera, is rapidly becoming a remembrance of the past, the time has arrived for a more intelligent comprehension of the musical attitude we should assume, and for a thorough examination of the means we have at our disposal for presenting in our churches a service worthy of Almighty God. Such a service is not necessarily one of much show; in fact the growing tendency of incompetent choirs to attempt great works for the sake of the *éclat* attached to their production is one of the abuses most to be reprehended, and those good Priests who, in their musical ignorance, insist upon the performance of a service beyond the power of their choirs, are guilty of something very little short of sacrilege. Our duty is to render to God the best we have: what we have not He neither expects nor desires. With the object, therefore, of placing before our clergy the various forms of music and kinds of service at their disposal, according to the wealth or position of their parishes, and in the hope of calling forth more thorough

writings on the subject from those having greater experience than myself, I offer some practical hints regarding the formation of men and boy choirs, and their religious and musical training.

Before entering upon the formation of a boy choir, the Rector should make a thorough examination of his position, the financial side especially requiring careful consideration, and of the requirements of his parish. Having determined what he desires, he would do well to consult "one skilled in music," so as to ascertain what he can get: by pursuing such a course he will avoid much after-disappointment. The style of music and service having been settled, the most important and much the most difficult question connected with the establishment of a choir, the choice of the choir-master, arises. Far more is concerned in the selection of a choir-master than the mere fact of his being a good musician. He should be a communicant, a man of gentlemanly feeling at least, an adaptive musician, and, above all, must possess that peculiar gift of managing boys, that insight into individual characteristics, that endless patience which alone can control the diverse elements of a great boy choir in a land where physical discipline is a thing forbidden. Musically I have said he must be adaptive, for no one who has not been a choir-master can comprehend the sudden changes of plan rendered necessary at a moment's notice by the failure of this or that component of the choir. The leader's position, indeed, is not unlike that of the general officer who, beside his own plan of battle, must conjure up to his imagination every maneuver of which his opponent can conceive, that he may immediately adapt his own movements to the advances of the enemy. If the choice were given me of a thorough, plodding, mechanical musician, or an adaptive, aggressive, and, consequently, conceited one, whose knowledge might be somewhat superficial but whose aplomb was infinite, I should choose the latter. One of the most successful choir-masters I have ever known was in the habit of waving his baton with such a total disregard of time as to cause wondering admiration in the mind of the spectator, and one of the greatest leaders of oratorio we have ever had in America, a man long since

passed from the public mind, was so ignorant, that though to a certain extent he was able to appreciate, he certainly did not comprehend, the masterpieces he produced. Both of these were, in their way, exceptional geniuses, however, and in selecting a choir-master, as geniuses are rare, it is well to demand more accurate musical knowledge than either of them possessed.

When the choir master is engaged he should be told distinctly the style of music required, for upon the music to be sung will entirely depend his method of cultivating the voices of his boys. The line having been distinctly marked out for him by the Rector, the details of action should be left to his own judgment, as no one can so well tell what the choir is capable of doing as the choir master himself. A composition which is perfectly safe of production at one time might be most dangerous at another, and nothing so discourages a leader and demoralizes a choir as the forced performance of a work under unfavorable circumstances. I have said that upon the style of music to be given will depend the training of the boys, I will go even farther and say the very selection of the boys. We will suppose that the service to be given is what is known as the choral service, with Anglican chants and an occasional anthem, of the stiff English pattern. Into a choir formed for such purpose, the choir master may introduce anything he can procure in the way of voices. Boys as old as fourteen, though likely only to last a year, are worth the training, provided their accent be pleasant and their tone open, as without question for this style of music the old English method of training the chest voice as high as it can go without straining, and depending upon the smaller boys for the semi-occasional high notes occurring, is the most effective. This method, that of almost suppressing the middle and head registers and depending upon the chest for all effective work, has its converse in a method which is falsely called French, but which I have never heard in France, except at the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame of Paris, where its use is quite comprehensible, and I must admit, effective. This consists in the suppression of the chest as well as the medium, and the strengthening of the head register by con-

stant practice, till it acquires an open falsetto tone of immense power, but unpleasant quality. In the vast space of Nôtre Dame, where much plain song with *faux-bourbons* requiring high notes is sung, the pure tones of young boys would be completely lost, and therefore in such a church, this method, by which a sort of a treble can be kept till a boy is seventeen or eighteen, is admissible; but in a small room voices cultivated in this way are intolerable. Now instead of the choral service properly so called, suppose that the demand be for Mass and Oratorio music with Gregorian chanting. The choir master will select boys of from six to eight years, he will carefully train their voices as he would the voices of women, giving to each register, head, middle and chest its due importance. In uniting the registers he will take pains to make the change from one to another as low as possible and for this reason it is better to train the boys' voices from the top downward, as the tendency is always to continue the employ of the register in actual use as far as it can be carried. A careful training of the voice continued over some six or eight weeks, will of itself cultivate the ear and at the end of that time the boys will be in a condition to catch simple melodies by ear and render them with absolute trueness. In this study of intervals and uniting of registers, the utmost attention should be paid to breathing, for upon it depends the proper throwing of the sound and consequently its power. Starting with the old Italian doctrine that "the stomach is the sounding board of the lungs," the scholars must be taught to draw their breath from the base of the lungs, leaving the throat muscles relaxed. Where boys have a tendency to carry the lower registers unduly high, the method formerly pursued by Wartel of Paris will be found of use. This consisted in a six weeks' course of scales and exercises sung through closed lips, the teeth not pressed together but lightly touching. To produce an effective tone the master must be able to mark with certainty that almost invisible point when "letting" ends and "forcing" begins. A forced tone is loud but never powerful; it is a tone which produces an immense effect in the immediate vicinity of the choir, but fails to carry the sound to a distance. This is what is gen-

erally heard in American churches, while the opposite prevails in England, where the boys do not sufficiently "let out" their voices. Only in France, where the voices are far inferior to those of the English boys, does one hear a full, open, powerful tone absolutely unstrained. The boys having been taught to breathe, and having acquired a certain knowledge of intervals and time, are in a condition to undertake a service, provided one be selected abounding in flowing melody and in a key not situated on the change of registers. For instance, E flat and G are far safer keys than F, as the 'tonic' and 'dominant' of the last-named key are situated on the lower notes of the middle and head registers, and being naturally weak notes, the tendency is to take them with the forced tones of the registers below them. When the mere melodies of three or four services have been acquired, the study of 'style' should be begun. By 'style' is meant, not that mere correctness of phrasing and attention to the composer's indications which makes the hearer sensible of the pains taken in the study of the work produced, but the exact contrary of this. I think style might be defined as the removal of the scaffolding after the edifice has been erected. To execute with style the time must be felt, but the bars pass unperceived; the directions of the composer be followed, but as mere signs intended to indicate some quality inherent in the music itself. If taught from the beginning it is astonishing with what earnestness and passion the smallest children will learn to convey the composer's ideas in rendering his music. A course of training, such as I have described, carried over a period of six months and supplemented by regular lessons in reading musical notation, will produce a choir capable of singing even a difficult service with credit. Where time, money and knowledge are in the choir master's favor, I should advocate a plan sometimes pursued in France, the one I believe to be in use in the National School of Religious Music, where Palestrina's Masses and music of that character being sung without accompaniment, great precision is required. By this method, while every attention is given to the training of the voices, reading is taught through the medium of some instrument, by preference the violin.

After even a few months' instruction in instrumental music the boys will be found capable of singing any easy music at sight, while the strain produced in searching after intervals will have been avoided. I am aware that the cultivation of a choir in this manner requires infinite pains and patience, but I am convinced that the result will more than repay the trouble. When a church sets out with the intention of producing the works of the great masters, the interpretation should be worthy of the works, or the idea should be abandoned.

If the primary object in the formation of a male choir be the production of a service worthy of the Deity, the secondary one, the attachment of the youth of the congregation to the service of the sanctuary, is of scarcely less importance. Yet these two objects, which should be inseparable, too often clash in such a manner as to seriously impede the accomplishment of either. Who does not know the disastrous effect of "dead wood" on the efficacy of a choir! The boys strained, the men irritable, the choir-master weary, all because some one incompetent individual has been allowed to enter the choir! And yet to limit the membership of a choir to those capable of singing difficult mass music, is to lose sight of the secondary object of its being, to utterly cast aside one of the most valuable factors in the spiritual work of the parish. Now this clashing of objects, which should agree with absolute harmony, could readily be obviated by the formation of a double instead of a single choir, and it has often struck me with surprise that so simple a solution of so serious a difficulty has never been attempted in our large city parishes. The first choir should be composed of young boys for the soprano, trained in the manner I have described; boys somewhat older for the alto, and competent men for the tenor and bass parts. The use of this choir should be limited to the production of the Liturgy and the night service. The second choir, formed of all the numerous elements unfit for use in the first, would be employed in the rendering of the offices of Matins and Evensong. This sounds as though the second choir would be of a very inferior order, but it need not necessarily be so if proper attention be paid to its training. Beyond the can-

ticles and a few simple hymns, its work would be mainly in unison singing, the Gregorian Psalter forming its most important number. The Psalter, properly sung by men's voices alone, is infinitely more effective than when weakened by the lighter tones of boys sounding the octave, and nothing conduces to greater purity of diction, nothing more readily trains the most obstinate ear, than this simple work of unison singing. The second choir would be recruited from among the boys of the first choir as their voices stiffened or broke, and after two years passed in the second choir they could be advanced to men's positions in the first one. By this means an eye would be kept over lads who are too frequently lost sight of at the most critical period of their lives. We will suppose the services of a Sunday, as rendered by this double choir. The second choir enters the church, sings Matins and retires. After a lapse of five minutes the first choir enters and Mass is sung by perfectly fresh voices. In the afternoon Litany, followed by Evensong, is given by the second choir, and the night service again is taken by the first choir. What a relief to the wearied parishioner would this division of the long morning service be, and how much more beautiful would be all the services when rendered by choirs fresh and interested in their work, than by boys cross, obstinate and unruly from sheer physical fatigue. Of course a double choir of this kind would only be possible in those large and important city parishes where the applications for admission are in excess of the places at the disposal of the choir-master; but only in the churches of such parishes should the regular production of difficult Mass music be attempted. In the greater number of our churches Anglican services are sung, excepting on the great festivals, and in these churches, where the time spent in the study of a work is not of paramount importance, a little "dead wood" can safely be tolerated.

From the consideration of these parishes where the difficulties of the choir-master lie in the *embarras de richesses*, I now turn to those less fortunate ones, either in town or country villages, where his powers are exhausted in vain efforts to keep together a handful of

awkward, ungainly boys, utterly incapable of the work demanded of them, who, in sheer despair, are dismissed before the celebration begins; thus debasing, in theory at least, the only Divine service which should be the central act of Christian worship, to a position inferior to that of the preceding office. Why, in such places, should the ridiculous attempt of a boy-choir be continued, when the beauties of a "Children's Mass" are within the reach of any parish possessing a Sunday school and a young woman capable of playing the melodeon? It is true that as yet but little attention has been paid to the writing of services proper for children's voices; but supply will always keep pace with demand, so let the want of easy, flowing, melodious unison services once be felt, and the popular composers will not be slow in presenting their wares. Even with the material now at his disposal, the Rector of an out of the way country parish can produce a service as beautiful and as touching, if not so grand, as his more favored city brother. A difficult question in America, where the choir boys are educated in the public schools, is their proper religious and moral training. The position of the choir boy is a peculiar one, one tending to separate him from his fellows, and unless this isolation elevates him above them in a moral sense, it will only unfit him for his surroundings without giving him any compensating benefit. Certainly the plan pursued in England, of a choir school attached to the church, is the best one; but this, to be properly carried out in America, would require such an outlay as to be virtually beyond the power of execution; consequently the choir boy can receive little more than the ordinary Sunday school instruction in religious things. At present the plan in common use is that of a special choir class in the ordinary Sunday school room, and I believe any superintendent will bear me out when I say that it is invariably the worst disciplined and most unruly class under his charge. The reason is most apparent—the choir boy, by virtue of his office, belongs to a superior social plane. Among his own class he is distinctly democratic, but once brought in contact with the rabble of the Sunday school, he turns aristocrat, and is obliged to maintain his superiority by "showing off." The

whole school will laugh at a feat performed by a choir boy which would only excite a sneer if attempted by an "outsider." Again, the peculiar training of the choir boy, directed as it is to the development of his artistic tendencies and most exciting to his nervous system, invariably produces an over-strung and highly sensitive organism, to which the crowd and noise of the Sunday school room are particularly trying. Added to these, the choir boy knows that the choir-master and superintendent are invariably at cross purposes. His last instructions from his master are to save his voice for the service in church, while the superintendent, too lazy to instruct the children in their hymns, depends upon the choir class to carry the singing through.

The Sunday lessons of choir boys should be short and to the point. With the long services they have to go through in church they should be relieved from the tedium of the Sunday school. Where possible, the choir master himself should give them a half hour's lesson in the choir room, and where the choir master is incompetent, as is too often the case, they should be placed under the charge of some thoroughly instructed man, possessed of quick insight into boy character; but in all cases their lessons should be given in a room separated from the other scholars. I have spoken as if the state of the choir boy in America were a neglected one, but this is only true of the state, as an individual. The choir boy has much, sometimes too much, attention paid to him. Where a boy is interesting he is invited here, there and everywhere by the members of the congregation, who unfit him for his position by weaving some romance about his future, generally culminating in his taking orders. Sometimes the interesting boy has a good, strong character and a real vocation, in which case this early acquaintance with the usages of a higher social plane is of immense service to him in after life; but more frequently he is only physically more pleasing than his fellows, and as he loses the charms of childhood the passing interest is forgotten, and the poor boy, with an unsatisfied taste for refinement and powers weakened by fastidiousness, is left to fight his way among totally uncongenial surroundings. As far as possible, the choir boy should be kept from the contact of

all but the choir master, the clergy, and the layman who has charge of their religious instruction, and invitations to visit among the congregation, unless the whole choir is included, should be distinctly discouraged. In addition to the class of instruction for the boys, there should be one for the men of the choir under the charge of one of the clergy, and attendance upon this class, at least in the case of volunteers, should be made a requisite for membership in the choir.

I have spoken at some length of what I believe to be the best methods of training the singers for our churches, I shall add but a very few words regarding the music to be selected. Catholic churchmanship can best be expressed by a simple but orderly rendering of the offices in Gregorian and plain song. The Gospel canticles should be sung to *Faux-bourbons*, which should be rendered slowly and with great attention to "style," something which is, as a rule, totally neglected in Gregorian singing. While these services should never be debased through want of proper study, the main efforts of the choir master should be directed to a grand and solemn rendering of the office for the Holy Communion, and for this he has an illimitable fund from which to draw in the wealth of mass music of the Latin Church. Here his great danger lies in the selection of music unsuited to the Anglican service. Many of the finest masses were written as concert masses and should be sung only as such; to attempt their production, therefore, in a translated form is to prepare for oneself a deserved failure. The masses selected should be the shortest possible, as they require the least repetition of phrases in their translation, and they should be the most vocal. Where the whole of a mass is too difficult or too long for ordinary use, a plain song creed, such as Marbecke's, or that in the *Missa de Angelis*, can be substituted for the one properly belonging to the mass, but it should be remembered that a certain musical design runs through a work as a whole, and therefore made up services formed of numbers taken from various masses, even though they may all be the work of the same composer, are in the worst possible taste. Many of the English Communion Services, especially those published within the past

six or eight years, are in form and style "masses," while the short masses of the modern French composers are particularly well adapted to the English service. "Solemn" masses, that is, masses in which each number is composed of several distinct movements complete in themselves, are too long for ordinary use and should be performed only on festival occasions. In selecting a work for a childrens' service the main requisite is melody. Services in which much reciting on a few notes occurs are extremely difficult for children to catch, and as they depend upon finished singing to give them interest, they lose all effect when rendered by untrained voices.

In the foregoing article I have made constant use of the expression "mass music," though I know that the phrase has a most unpleasant sound on ears educated in more or less Protestant traditions. My use of the term has been purely technical, as applied to the musical setting of the office of the Holy Communion when treated in a broad and masterly manner. The ordinary equivalent is "Communion Service," but this term has been so long bestowed upon certain narrow and stilted compositions, compositions whose only merit lies in a certain rigid correctness, that I have thought it better to use the word mass than to run the risk of conveying a false idea.

RICHARD BALL DODSON.

REFORM IN CHURCH FINANCE.

“**T**HERE is no feature of modern Church life and work,” well says a writer in the London *Guardian*, “more conspicuous than organization: conspicuous in successes, when present; and in utter and general collapse, when it is wanting.” We may very truthfully add, that there is no feature of our American Church polity, in which system and organization are more conspicuously wanting than in the financial methods which we have thus far accepted, without questioning, from our colonial past; and, in consequence, none in which such an “utter and general collapse” is more imminent.

To the class to whom the normal character of the customs, methods and ideas to which *they* have personally been accustomed, is axiomatic, the demands of ecclesiastical statesmanship are satisfied by the supercilious suppression of every one who so much as suggests change and reform. To the ecclesiastical statesmanship of such as are capable of looking facts full in the face, and resolute in the search for remedies for the ill-workings and failures thereby revealed, there is nothing more palpable to-day than the necessity of a radical reform in our Church finance.

There is, strictly speaking, no such thing as a financial *system* in our Church. What we are accustomed to call such is but an agglomeration of customs inherited by us from a period in which there was neither a common ecclesiastical life, nor even the possibility of any other than isolated and independent local action; or, of the various expedients to which one parish after another, or one General Convention after another have resorted, in the vain effort to provide for the growing demands and needs of our Church life; and yet, at the same time, to escape the necessity of reorganizing our financial methods and adopting some consistent system based on sound financial and Churchly principles.

Attention has been called in the columns of the *Churchman* (February 10th, 1883) to certain articles on this subject, by the late Hugh Davey Evans, in the *True Catholic* for May and June, 1856. When published, these articles were so far in advance of the times that they were practically resultless. Now they are forgotten, save by some of those whose privilege it was to sit, during their early ministry, at the feet of the great Bishop of Maryland and to study Church principles with his great lay friend and co-laborer, Dr. Evans. If such a man now need to be commended to a younger generation, Bishop Lay, at the late Centenary of the Diocese of Maryland, so spoke of him and of his teachings, that his words should have new power with all true Churchmen to whom they may now come.

This eminent lay canonist notes, in the above articles, that there are virtually but three systems of Church finance—three distinct ways of providing for the support of the Church. These are: 1st, Establishment, or support by the State; 2d, Endowments; 3d, The Voluntary System. He dismisses the *first* of these from consideration, as not only in itself undesirable; but, in this country, wholly out of the question. He argues that the *second* is not merely hopeless of general attainment, but equally unwise, save as the alternative of our present reliances, for the maintenance of parish churches. He thus limits himself to the Voluntary System as that which, with us, is alone either practicable or expedient.

And yet, of this Voluntary System, thus adjudged by him to be alike sound in principle and trustworthy in practice, Dr. Evans adds: "Upon the whole, it is impossible to deny that [with us,] it is a failure."

Addressing himself then to seek the causes of such a failure, Dr. Evans proceeds to distinguish between two radically different modes of applying or acting upon this system. Let us consider these in turn, in the light of some twenty-seven years additional experience since Dr. Evans wrote.

The *first* is that which sprung, not unnaturally, from the isolated and unchurchly conditions of the practically autonomous parishes which made up the Colonial Church. This

form of the Voluntary System has, therefore, been our inheritance, and this, with all its incongruities, self-contradictions, and confessed failure, is to-day virtually accepted generally throughout the American Church. Of this financial policy, the self-supporting parish is the representative ideal and the norm; and, it may be added that, according to this policy, such a parish is the unit of Church life, if it may not rather be said that it is virtually a Church to itself. For, according to this system, the goal to which everything coöperates to bring on a missionary station—this parish, a certain number of which is the condition precedent to the organization of a Diocese—this normal parish is one which is legally and financially sufficient to itself, which raises within itself and applies to its own temporal and ecclesiastical needs, its own distinct income.

“This plan,” says Dr. Evans, “is founded on the principle that every man should pay for his own religious privileges;” and it is one which, if it does not actually carry this principle out to its logical conclusion that every *man* should have just such religious privileges, and such only, as he may be able and willing to pay for, at least makes the nearest approximation to such a conclusion by aiming at placing every local congregation of attendants upon our services in such a position that they shall have just such religious privileges as they are collectively able and willing to pay for, and neither more nor less. The work of our Domestic and Diocesan Missionary Boards is no witness against the position thus taken: for that work is only regarded as abnormal—as the provisional expedient for the planting or for the temporary support of the inchoate or feeble parish which has not yet attained to such a hoped for and normal state of financial independence and isolation. Our very missionary system—which ought to be a witness for true Church principles—thus accepts this plan as the ideal to be aimed at.

Such is, then, in principle, our actual system of Church finance. Of it, Dr. Evans declares that it

is founded in selfishness and is the growth of the necessities of the Church, which are themselves the result of the loss of the sense of duty—the duty of

maintaining the Church, not for ourselves, but for the glory of God and for the salvation of souls.

It would seem that it were only necessary to state the fact in this way, to show to us that our present parochial methods are the very antithesis of the missionary principle, which first brought Christ from heaven—which sent the Apostles “everywhere preaching the word”—which brought the Gospel to us and which is now laboring and struggling with us, to bear that Gospel onward to our far West, as well as in our own Dioceses and parishes, to every creature to whose hearts its glad tidings have not yet come. In fact, looked at as a principle, one more utterly at variance with that of Christ’s own coming and with that of Christ’s sending His Gospel-bearing ministry to men, it would be impossible to devise.

We are then working or endeavoring to work under two principles, which are not merely entirely distinct from each other, but which are mutually contradictory—irreconcilably *exclusive* of each other. Self-sacrifice, self-impartation,—calling the blind to see, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the dead to rise,—preaching the Gospel to the poor, “without money and without price,” is—on the one hand, the principle on which the Church calls young men to the ministry and on which she ordains them to its solemn responsibilities. Self-provision—self-support—self-sufficiency,—a Gospel proportioned in quantity and in quality to our money and to the price we are able and willing to pay for it, is—on the other hand, the principle upon which the laity are gathered together and upon which work is provided for a ministry so ordained. Who shall say what moral friction,—what large and reckless wastage of men and money—what accumulating record of disappointments and failures, is due to the long continued and persistent attempt to work, at one and the same time, upon two such principles?

1. It isolates the parish and practically separates it from the sources of its ecclesiastical life and vigor. It makes it, actually and to all legal and financial intents and purposes, a distinct entity; cut off from other parishes as well as

from the Church as a whole, by distinct and, very often, by opposing interests. In fact, to the parishes, regarded collectively, the Church remains little more than an abstract idea, a conception of the Bible and of the Prayer Book, no doubt; but having no real organic embodiment whatever. Canonically and ecclesiastically, the parish may indeed be looked upon as an integral part of the Church; and the Rector and his more devout or more Churchly trained parishioners may feel that the Church is, spiritually and mystically, the *one* Body of Christ, and that the parishes are, therefore, members severally of that Body and "every one members one of another." But the large majority of our people, and especially of those who have not been trained in Church principles, but who have commonly brought with them into the Church their former habits of ecclesiastical thinking—will ever realize the legal and financial far more than the canonical or spiritual aspects of the case; and the parish will, undoubtedly, be to them as truly an independent unit as any purely congregational organization, sufficient unto itself in everything, as it clearly is in all that concerns its business interests and in the eye of the civil law.

2. The effect of this system is, moreover, to discourage and check the growth of small and feeble parishes.

So long as a station retains a missionary character, it enjoys, more or less, the watchful and fostering care of the Bishop and others of the more experienced and judicious clergy of the Church; and, should circumstances make it needful, a clergyman of even exceptional ability might be secured for it and put in charge. But, from the day when it becomes "a self-supporting parish," be its potential importance to the Church and to the future never so great,—be its value to souls never so solemn,—it is none the less left to get on as it can. However great its need of wisdom, of experience, or of self-devotion in its minister, it can only obtain and enjoy the services of just such a man as *they* can find and as *they* can pay—a young and inexperienced man, an old and broken down man, an unattractive or an injudicious man,—in fact some one for whom, for some reason, there is no more remunerative work or position to be found.

Thus many a young parish—many a one which has been weakened by bad management and whose parishioners have been scattered, but which could at once be put upon a strong and a permanent footing, could the Church but send to its help such a man as they need, is, under the present system, condemned, by the very fact of its weakness, to perpetuate a state of things which will, not improbably, still further weaken it; for the less a parish can raise for itself, the less—as a rule—is its likelihood to obtain or if obtained, to keep the services of such a Rector as the interests of the Church in that parish and under such circumstances, require.

3. Again, our present financial system tends to draw the attention and to enlist the activities of the parishioners themselves, more in the business interests than in the spiritual responsibilities of their parish;—it brings forward to positions of influence, the richer, rather than the more devout of their number;—it sometimes even entrusts those interests to persons who do not so much as acknowledge the obligations of their membership; and it tempts them to be more anxious that their Rector should attract persons of means and social standing to the Church than that he should be to them “a faithful shepherd of souls.”

4. Who shall tell the consequent effect of such a self-supporting parochialism upon the clergy themselves?

It tends inevitably to weaken their loyalty to the Church and dulls sensitive conscientiousness about their ordination vows, seeing that it is not to the Church, but to some one or other of these parishes that they must look alike for the opportunity of working and for the means of their support. It tempts them, with all the power which their personal interests or those of their families have with them, to labor rather for the temporal prosperity of the parish as a corporation, than for the spiritual welfare of the souls entrusted to their care. It forces them into more or less of unavoidable rivalry with their brother clergy, whose loss of a parishioner of means would so often be their gain, or whose gain would be their personal loss; and thus it surely tends to weaken, if not destroy, all *esprit de corps*, all oneness of sacred purpose, all common interest and brotherliness

among the clergy; and substitute conflicting interests for mutual dependance; and, above all, materializing thus the objects of their labor, it materializes them.

5. But, apart from all these moral results, is our present plan a failure, considered even as a system of Church finance, in that it very seriously reduces the aggregate sum of money which might be raised, and which might be, throughout the whole Church, devoted to Church purposes; to say nothing of the fact that so much of that which is now raised is expended upon local Church luxuries rather than in such a way as would be productive of spiritual results. Our present plan may, and, indeed, very often does press hardly upon the faithful members of feeble parishes, and tax them sometimes even excessively; but even in these it also keeps away not a few who shrink from being subjected to such a pressure, and the sum of whose small offerings would be important; and, on the other hand, in large and richer congregations, even on the luxurious style which is so often adopted, it calls on the parishioners for but a small outlay compared to what they could give, and would give, if this duty of Church giving were placed upon a higher and a holier footing.

What is the effectual remedy for this state of things? What financial policy will make the parish, in reality as well as in theory, an integral part and factor of the Church? What is the policy which will bring the Church's strength to bear where it is most needed, in its weakest points;—which will interest the parishioners first of all in those things which concern their spiritual estate;—which will lead the pastor to devote himself, above all things else, to the cure of souls;—which will unite the clergy in one common interest and secure the loyalty of clergy and laity alike to the whole Church and to her Divine Head; and which, finally, will bring "all the tithes into the storehouse" of the Lord, that He may "open us the windows of Heaven and pour us out a blessing," even such a blessing as He has promised to those who put Him to the proof?

It is the *second* and radically different form of the Voluntary System, which, in Dr. Evans' words, "looks to the Church as a whole, and is founded on the principle of maintaining

the Church as an act of duty and of devotion to God;" and then depending upon the Church, out of the means thus provided, to support all ministrations alike to the rich and to the poor, to the godless and to the devout. "This broader idea respecting Church finance," adds Dr. Evans, "can only be met by a general fund, raised upon the principle that every man is to contribute as God hath prospered him, not merely to provide ministrations for himself, but for the glory of God and salvation of souls." Of this system of Church finance Dr. Evans says plainly, not only that it "was carried out in the primitive Church and was successful," but that, "it is the only scheme which has ever been successful."

The essential characteristics of this form of the Voluntary System, are, therefore, these:

First—That those persons who associate themselves with the Church in a given parish, or statedly attend the services of the same, and especially those who acknowledge their personal Christian responsibilities, should be called upon severally to set aside and contribute, statedly and systematically, each "as God hath prospered him," such proportion of his income, or other such sum as his conscience may prompt, "every man as he purposeth in his heart," as his offering to God for the support of His Church; which sums shall be paid over by the parish, into the treasury of the Diocese, to constitute in whole or in part a Sustentation Fund for the support of the Bishop and Clergy of the same.

Second—That no one, so contributing, shall be called upon, through pew rents, subscriptions, assessments or otherwise, to provide severally or collectively for the support of the ministry.

Third—That the incidental or miscellaneous offerings of the congregation shall be used, so far as necessary, for the various incidental expenses of Divine services, music, sexton, lighting, heating, etc., and that for the erection of churches, chapels and rectories, or for special improvements in these, reliance should be had upon special offerings from the parishioners, or special appropriations from the Diocesan Treasury, or on both at once.

In the practical working of such a scheme, were the change from our present parochial policy once fully and fairly made, there would probably be no serious difficulty—none, certainly, comparable with those incident to our present policy. The transition itself would, however, be no doubt impeded by many and grave practical difficulties; not merely those incident to all great changes, but others, chiefly growing out of the various ways in which it would come into conflict with that selfishness upon which our present plan is based, which it is so well calculated to develop, and to which it directly and so powerfully appeals.

To avoid, so far as may be, these difficulties or to reduce them to their minimum, it would, were such a change attempted, be, perhaps, expedient, if not necessary,

I. To propose a scheme for such a transition, not as an obligatory canon, but as a permissive and experimental plan for voluntary adoption by such clergy and parishes as will, leaving it to work its way gradually to general acceptance by force of its successful working.

II. To limit it, at first, to the support of the ministry, leaving other objects to be brought under the operation of the same principles, at a later day.

III. To look, at first, rather to its local or partial, than to its general, adoption; and, therefore, to propose it, at first, in those Convocations, or, at most, in those Diocesan Conventions where the general feeling may be most favorable to such an experiment.

These general conditions premised, a scheme of transition, presenting the following points, might perhaps be found acceptable and practicable:

1. That the Diocese should be represented, for the purposes of such a scheme, by a small Board of Trustees, composed of the Bishop and the lay members of the Diocesan Board of Missions; or, in case of the Convocation, of the Bishop and the Dean of the Convocation, with certain laymen, chosen by ballot for the purpose, and which board should be incorporated.

2. That the Rectors, other ministers, and missionaries, in charge of those parishes or stations embraced in this

scheme, be referred to the said Trustees, and should look to them only for their support.

3. That the Treasury of said Trustees, should, for the present purpose, be supplied as follows:

a. That all Diocesan or other Missionary Funds, heretofore expended in the support of such stations or parishes, should be paid over to said Trustees.

b. That in every such parish or station, the Rector or minister in charge should call upon each and all of his parishioners severally, and especially upon the communicants of his charge, to set aside as a matter of conscience and to pay over, through the offertory, such a definite portion of their income as they feel it due to God that they should devote to the support of His Church—it being, at the same time, of course, understood that they will not be called on to pay pew rental or any otherwise to contribute to the support of the Rector or minister; the aggregate of these sums to be statedly paid over to the said above Trustees, by the local treasurer.

c. That legacies, endowments, or other benefactions for the support of the clergy and the gradual increase of their smaller salaries, should be asked for and expected by said Trustees.

4. That the clergy should be paid as follows:

a. That the normal stipend to be paid by such Trustees to each Rector or other minister, should at first be fixed at a sum not less than that before received by him for the same service.

b. That the said normal stipend of no such minister shall, during his incumbency, be reduced below the sum at which he accepted his charge, save with his own free consent and concurrence; nor shall it be, at any time, so reduced below the amount of the average receipts from that charge, if thereby it would be made less than \$1,000.

c. That, subject to these two above restrictions, the normal stipend assigned to the Rectors or ministers of said parishes and stations, may be, from time to time, readjusted by the Trustees as the aggregate of the resources at their disposal may permit or make necessary, in such wise as to secure, so far as may be, for every such parish or station

the services of such a minister as the conditions thereof may be judged to require; and to provide, if possible, that no such stipend should be fixed at less than \$1,000.

d. Provided only, that when the funds so at the disposal of the Trustees, shall, for any given year or part thereof, be found insufficient for the payment of the stipends so fixed by them, a temporary reduction from the amount of said normal stipends shall be made, but it shall be made proportionately and *pro rata* on that of all the clergy concerned; in which case, such payments shall, as soon thereafter as possible, be raised again, in the same proportion, to the normal sums before fixed.

By some such scheme the following results will be secured:

1. That the dependence and loyalty of the clergy in their work, will be drawn to the Church rather than to their respective parishes.

2. That provision for ministration in the more feeble parishes will be more likely to be proportioned to the needs and special requirements of such parishes, and would not be so commonly limited to the local ability to provide for them.

3. That there would be great inducements for outside provision of means for the general relief of the clergy as a body, by endowments or other such benefactions.

4. That no minister would feel himself or be regarded by others as acting in his own interest more than in that of the Church and clergy at large, in urging on his parishioners the duty of liberal giving in this way.

5. That no Rector or minister would be personally affected by the removal of any person from one parish to another; and all temptations to rivalry would thus be removed; but that, on the contrary, every clergyman within the operation of such a scheme, would have a personal and even a pecuniary interest in the efficiency and success of every other, would be a sharer in the benefits resulting from his faithful service, and a sufferer in consequence of his neglect or inefficiency. They would be indeed, virtually insurers of each other's fidelity.

6. It would, therefore, almost inevitably follow that a

new and more vigilant interest in the character and fitness of the clergy would be developed; far greater care would be exercised in the recommendation and ordination of fit candidates only, and proper discipline would be sustained and enforced by the common sentiment of the clergy as a body.

7. It would follow that the clergy would be incited to use their influence to secure as their colleagues in the same Convocation or Diocese, the most earnest and faithful of their brethren known to them; and finally every interest would thus tend to the gradual elimination of unfit men from the sacred ministry, and to the proper placing of those men who, although unsuited to one position or to one class of duties, might be admirably suited for another.

Such a scheme as that here sketched, would, of course, relieve the parish only of its chief financial charge, the provision for the spiritual ministrations of a clergyman of the Church. Those which may be considered as the purely secular expenses of the parish may easily be left, as suggested, to the unpledged or incidental offerings, or to any local or secular provision that may be found most convenient.

On the other hand, such a scheme can be regarded but as a provisional and partial development of a true and complete system of Church finance. Whenever the adoption of such a scheme shall become general in any Diocese, embracing the larger and wealthier parishes as well as those which are smaller and possessed of but comparatively little means, then it should embrace in its operations the care of the aged and infirm clergy and the widows and orphans of those who are gone to their rest, as well as the erection of churches, rectories, or other buildings for the Church, whether for diocesan or for parochial purposes. The great aggregate offertory of the Diocese could then be divided into its distinct portions, and that portion only which is set apart as a Sustentation Fund for the support of the Bishop and Clergy should be appropriated as above proposed.

WM. CHAUNCY LANGDON.

ASSISTANT BISHOPS.

A REJOINDER.

“**T**HE Catholic Church has never loved Assistant Bishops,” says the Article of the *CHURCH REVIEW* of September, which statement is too sweeping to be discussed within reasonable limits, besides having little to do with the practical consideration of the subject. It needs only, in passing, a word of caution against too ready belief. Many persons are so constituted that, as those on a moving vessel are like to think that the objects on the shore are in motion, they are prone to mistake their own fancies for the opinions of the world. We have read ere now many pronouncements purporting to be the voice of “the People of England,” or the “Spirit of the Age,” and have found after all that it was only the work of “Three Tailors of Tooley Street.” Before the assertion can be received without limitation it will be necessary to inquire whether the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is a part of the “Catholic Church.” If so, then we have a more definite and determinable question to examine, and one that is far more to the point. The “Catholic Church,” or any part of it in any age, used its best intelligence and such wisdom as it had to adapt its working machinery to its own circumstances and the needs of its own times. It is not claiming very much for the Church of this age to say that it is quite as able to adjust its machinery to its own circumstances and needs, and therefore need not go back for wisdom and instruction to the people who lived in circumstances and under conditions far different from the present. It will not require very careful or extended research to find out what this part of the Catholic Church has loved. For more than half a century—indeed, as soon as the growth of the Church and the age of its Bishops rendered any assistance or relief necessary—Assistant Bishops have been a part of the official

body. The first American Bishop of the Anglican succession, Bishop White, had an Assistant. From the time of the consecration of the first Assistant Bishop down to the past year the Church has repeatedly availed itself of this method of giving relief to aged Bishops or supplementing the labors of those unable to render the full measure of service expected of one of average strength and soundness of body. The love for Assistant Bishops has not been confined to any one section of the country or party or "school of thought" in the Church. East and West, North and South, "High" and "Low" Church Diocese have freely availed themselves of this expedient whenever occasion arose. Nor is it difficult to account for the universal favor with which this method of supplying lack of episcopal service has been received in this Church. It has not been from any doctrinal notion, but simply from the practical common sense which has usually distinguished the American people in adopting the best means to secure a desired end. The Assistant is the best means to supply a want that is sure to arise from time to time, while the Bishops are subject to bodily infirmity and liable to grow old. This latter cause is certain to require some such expedient as often as a Bishop's life is prolonged to old age. Unless one's health and strength give way with a sudden and total collapse, there will certainly come a time in which the gradually waning powers and the diminished ability to resist effect of work and exposure will make a Bishop's attempt to fulfill his duties a hard struggle. Very soon even a determined effort will not be sufficient to force nature to a work beyond her strength, and the Bishop is compelled either to see his diocese suffer from his inability or to seek relief in some way. Three methods of relief may be suggested: 1st. The Bishop, so soon as he is not able to do all that can be fairly expected of a man of average strength and endurance—*i. e.*, as soon as he is unable, even with utmost effort, to do the work which his Diocese requires—may resign his place and give opportunity for the selection of one who can. 2d. The Diocese may be divided so as to adjust the amount of work to the diminished ability of the Bishop. 3d. An Assistant may be

chosen who, during the lifetime of the enfeebled Bishop, may render such assistance as is needed. The first of these is impracticable, for the reason that there is no provision in the law of the Church for the resignation of a Diocesan Bishop who is still able to do a fair amount of work. Besides this, the salaries of most of the Bishops of this Church are so small, and the demands upon them so great, that they can make no provision for their old age. The Church makes no provision for them; therefore, the suggestion of turning out a Bishop, without means of support, upon the world, just when he begins to wear out, and after he has served the Church with small pecuniary reward all his best days, is repugnant to the feelings of justice and humanity. It needs only to be stated to be condemned.

The second method is impracticable and unreasonable. To compel a Diocese, which can be perfectly well administered and served by one Bishop of average vigor and soundness of health, to undertake permanently the expense of two dioceses and the support of two Bishops because its Bishop for the time has broken down or grown old, is so absurd that no argument can be urged in favor of it. No one would seriously propose such a measure in any other case. No one would propose to divide a parish simply because its rector had grown too old to do all the duties which the parish required. But even if so impracticable a plan were to be adopted it would not secure the desired end. The disability of a Bishop is not a fixed quantity. It will not stay at just so much and no more. If it is the disability of old age it is apt to increase at an increasing rate every year. The Bishop who has reached the point when his power of labor begins to fail, may be able to take care of part of his Diocese for a while, but soon even the smaller territory becomes too much for his strength. There must either be another division, or both the Bishop and the Diocese must suffer—the Bishop from the effort to bear a burden too heavy for his diminishing strength, and the Diocese from the lack of service which a Bishop alone can render. So that an unnecessary increase of the “running expenses” of the Diocese, without securing the desired end, is all that would result from resorting to division as a means of relieving a disabled

Bishop. The third plan is that which has commended itself to the practical common sense of our Church. It perfectly secures the object desired, with the least amount of financial burden and the least derangement of the working machinery of the Diocese. It does not, like division, make a permanent change for the sake of supplying a temporary need. It ceases to exist the moment that the need which created it has ceased to exist. It provides the Bishop with a helper whose work can be adjusted exactly to the occasion and degree of his need. It provides the Diocese with episcopal service, not from strangers who can very imperfectly render it, but from one who is united with it by a life-long tenure and whose interests are entirely bound up with it. As the aged Bishop becomes less able to bear the burden, the younger associate, becoming more familiar with the duties of the office and better acquainted with the Diocese and its people, can take a greater share of the work. When death takes away the elder from his labors, the younger succeeds to the place for which he has been prepared in the best possible way, and the Diocese goes on without change or increased expense. Division can be considered upon its own merits and need not be forced upon a reluctant Diocese as the only means of getting its lack of episcopal service supplied. There are so many desirable ends to be secured by the method of Assistant Bishops that we are not surprised to find the Canon amended in 1871, so as to open the door wider for their employment. The "extent of his Diocese" was added to the other grounds on which an Assistant might be elected, the consent of the General Convention or Standing Committee being first had. Under this provision the present Bishop of North Carolina was elected as Assistant Bishop of that Diocese, thus proving that it was not a "dead Canon." This fact also disproves the assertion that "the only attempt to use the Canon resulted in a proposition to repeal it." The Diocese of Mississippi also "attempted to use" this new provision, but failed to gain the consent of the Standing Committees.

It is important to call attention to the flat contradiction of facts in the statement put forth in the article under our consideration, that "the consent of the General Church *has*

never yet been even so much as asked for the election of an Assistant of this new-fangled kind, except by Virginia, in 1880" (*italics mine*). The consent has been asked twice and in one case obtained. That the Canon was intended only for some "unknown time and place hereafter," is not by any means a proof of its "deadness." Many of the Canons have the same reason for existing. The "time and place" of using many of them no man can certainly predict. It is even true of some of them that they may have seldom any occasion to be used. The Canon, on the trial of a Bishop, *e. g.*, has been put to use but a very few times in the history of our Church. Every good Churchman devoutly hopes that the occasion of its use may never again arise. Yet the same Churchmen would freely admit the wisdom of letting it stand. Nor would it be wise in any Bishop to give way to "naughtiness of heart," trusting to the "deadness" of the Canon.

We need not trouble ourselves, however, with this "new-fangled" part of the Canon, since the chief point raised concerns the language of the older part of it. The objections for the sake of which the article seems to have been written, depend upon the definition of the words "unable to discharge his episcopal duties." What constitutes the "inability?" The writer maintains (and all the weight of his argument rests upon this) that it means total and entire inability. He proposes to "put an extinguisher upon quibbles" by defining the word "unable" so that no one may mistake its meaning. He asserts, with all confidence of one announcing a self-evident truth, that inability in the sense used in the civil law must define the meaning of the word as used in ecclesiastical law. Just here we find the source of mistake which vitiates the whole argument. Of course, "unable" means "unable" wherever it is to be found. But the word by itself is indefinite. *It is defined and its meaning determined by the connection in which it stands.* The phrase "unable to perform his duties," in *one case*, may mean a wholly different thing from the same words used in another place. The "inability" depends upon what the duties are and what amount of "ability" of any sort is required in order to "discharge" them. The

illustration from the case of the late President Garfield is curiously aside from the point. Even upon the writer's own showing it has no bearing upon the question, for he was "evidently and notoriously unable to discharge" his duties as President. The fact of his inability is admitted. Very well; then it must have been something else besides a doubt as to "inability" which held back the hand of the Vice-President. This was partly the expectation and hope that the President would soon recover, at least sufficiently to "discharge his duties," and partly the suppressed excitement of the public mind which made hasty action highly inexpedient. But suppose that the condition of the President had been ascertained to be, in all reasonable probability, permanent, would there have been any doubt as to whether he was "unable" in the sense of the Constitution? If, in addition, the "duties of his office" had involved the labor of traveling, say four hundred miles a week, including long journeys over rough roads in open wagons and all sorts of weather, besides making as many as *ten or twelve* speeches and doing other work exhaustive both to mind and body, would any sane man have doubted the fact of his "inability?" The meaning of the language of the Canon is easily understood without going to analogies, real or supposed. It is sufficiently plain to any who will take the pains to consider it with mind free from the bias of a theory. "Unable to discharge his duties" means, and can mean nothing else, than *all his duties*. If we say that A is "unable to discharge his pecuniary obligations," we do *not mean that he cannot pay anything*, but that he *cannot pay all*. It would be nothing to the point to show that he could pay fifty or even seventy-five cents on the dollar. The remainder would still be a part of his obligations, which he would be "unable to discharge." If we say that a Bishop is "unable to discharge his duties," we mean, plainly enough, *all his duties*. It would be quite irrelevant for one to offer in objection the proof that he could discharge one-half or even three-fourths of them. The remaining half or fourth would be as much a part of his duties as that which he could discharge.

We have, besides, in the practice of the Church itself, a sufficient explanation of the sense in which "unable" is to

be understood. We interpret the language of a Canon by the acts under a Canon. The Canon on Assistant Bishops, having now been in force for more than fifty years, and having been repeatedly put to use, certainly affords a means of its own interpretation. The facts show that the "inability" was understood in its natural, proper sense. "Unable to discharge his duties" meant all that was included in the term "his duties"—not "unable to do anything." Unable was not taken to mean the same thing as totally disabled. On the contrary, many of the Bishops who were "unable" in the meaning of the Canon, were at the same time "able" to do a very considerable amount of work for many years. Bishop White, as we learn, was "able" to work, along with an Assistant, for nine years. Bishop Meade was made Assistant in 1829, and did not succeed to the care of the Diocese until 1841. Bishop Johns was Assistant of Bishop Meade for twenty years, and during a part of that time, at least, the appointments of both Bishop and Assistant Bishop were to be found together in the Church papers, the one officiating in one part of the Diocese while the other was officiating in another. Bishop Potter was "able" to do a good deal of work for nearly seven years, after Dr. Bowman was consecrated as his Assistant. Bishop McIlvaine was "able to discharge" a part of his duties for thirteen years after he had been considered by the Church as "unable to discharge his episcopal duties" in the intent and meaning of the Canon. These are sufficient to show what the Church meant by the word "unable." The writer of the article of September labors under a confusion of ideas when he takes "unable" to stand for "totally disabled." He seems not to see that "unable to discharge his duties" must necessarily include all his duties, since if any part is unperformed, it could not be said of a Bishop that he had "discharged his duties."

How is it to be determined when such inability exists? That depends upon the cause of it. If the Bishop is *not* at the time of life at which the strength gives way in the course of nature, the inability is announced by a violent breakdown, or by the presence of a disease which saps the strength and renders great care necessary in order to pro-

long life. Of the presence of such an infirmity a competent physician is the best judge. But the case of infirmity from old age is different. Here there is no sudden collapse or disease. It is simply that, in the natural and gradual decay of the bodily powers, sometimes of the mental powers as well, the point is reached in which the burdens once easily borne become too heavy for the diminished strength. After a struggle to overcome the reluctance of nature, the man is obliged to give up and confess himself to be an old man. Just when this point is reached can be known only to the man himself. If he be a resolute and energetic man, he will be slow to admit that he is failing, until a few sharp rebukes of nature, in the form of sickness and enforced cessation from work, tell him that he can presume no further upon his strength. When a Bishop by this process of gradual failure of strength gets to be unable to do the amount of work which his Diocese requires, and which one of average strength and endurance might reasonably be expected to do, he is "disabled." He is certainly, and in the plainest sense of the word, "unable to discharge his duties."

Here are the duties pertaining to his episcopal office. They are "his duties"—duties which he once could and did discharge, and which he can no longer discharge. It is quite aside from the purpose to reply, "He can discharge a part of them." The others are also his duties, and he cannot "discharge" them. The Church has been accustomed to regard her Bishops as men of truth, honor and unselfishness. It is presumed that they are not men who will shirk their work and try to slip their burdens upon other shoulders. It is not expected that any one of them would stoop to falsehood or misrepresentation in order to gain relief from part of his duties at the expense of his Diocese. Therefore, when a Bishop asked for an Assistant on the ground of "inability" from old age, or from any other cause believed to be permanent, the clergy and laity of his Diocese promptly yielded to his request, believing that, as a matter of course, he was telling the truth. The general Church did not hesitate to give consent, because the testimony of those who had the best opportunity of knowing

the truth and judging of the necessity was received as sufficient. Members of the Church believed and trusted each other. Between the Dioceses there was the observance of mutual confidence and esteem, without which Christianity is a sham and a pretence. It remained for the Church in Virginia to receive, in 1866, her "welcome home" by being made the one exception to this courtesy and confidence. Strenuous efforts were made to deprive her aged Bishop of the help which he asked and needed, and to present her official representations before the general Church as "making themselves personally responsible for the truth" of that which was false, and endeavoring by misrepresentation to evade the law of the Church. Happily other counsels prevailed. Those more immediately acquainted with the facts in the case of the Diocese of Virginia are no doubt able to vindicate her from this new attack upon the truthfulness of her Bishop and the honesty and reliability of her Church people. The Diocese of Central Pennsylvania also comes in for a share of the undesirable representation, and it is to that portion of the article we propose now to turn. The Diocese was well and effectively administered for eight years by its Bishop, who never complained of the amount of work nor neglected any part of it. In the face of a strenuous effort to get up a sentiment in favor of division of the Diocese, he spoke of his age, then seventy years, and suggested the probability of his needing assistance in a few years. He suggested also, informally and in conversation with those who talked with him, that an Assistant Bishop would best supply the help needed—*when it should be needed*. This is a very different thing from asking for an assistant at that time. He certainly did not do so publicly or officially. If he did so privately, many of his friends were profoundly ignorant of the fact. A man, after reaching the age of seventy, may naturally speak of a failure of his strength as a thing probable in the near future. But this is a very different thing from asking assistance at that time. An aged man may surely speak of soon needing a place in the cemetery without being understood as giving himself out to be dead or dying. It is, therefore, misleading to say that the inability was represented as existing for four years, while

all the time the Bishop was able to do more work than at any other time during his episcopate. It was only in 1882, three years after, that he made such "statement to his Convention" that they decided that, in their judgment, he was "unable to discharge his episcopal duties," and so stated in their resolution. The suggestion that the Bishop had not said, in so many words, that he was unable, was therefore beside the purpose. The resolution did not assert that he did, and so there was no contradiction. Therefore, the interruption was received in silence—it may have been a "helpless silence," or it may have been a dignified silence. The Convention seemed, by its action, to take the latter view of it.

The Bishop, 1882, did present two means of relieving his inability—division and assistant. That is true, but that is not the *whole truth*. While he professed himself ready to give consent to division on certain conditions, he at the same time set forth some weighty facts showing the inexpediency of division, and declared, both in his address and in his reply to the committee appointed to confer with him, that division would be but a temporary relief. It was simply a matter for them to decide whether to divide a Diocese which did not need division, was the proper means for providing assistance which would serve only for a year or two, possibly not so long as that.

It would be tedious, as well as useless, to follow the course of the article in its citations from the Bishop's address to the Convention of 1883, with the writer's comments. They have a bearing upon the question only on the assumption, already shown to be erroneous, that "unable" means totally disabled. Read without this misleading assumption, the record shows both the difficulty of the "duties" and the hard struggle with which the Bishop "discharged" a *part* of them. But the Bishop made no parade of his infirmities. Those who know all the facts of the case, know that nothing but the Bishop's resolute will kept him at work when every consideration of prudence would have urged him to stop. They know of his returns to his home, in some cases with visitations unfinished, to a sick room; of his attempting brief visitations before complete recovery only to return

to a sick room again; of the care with which he struggled by the constant aid of his physician to keep up his strength and to mitigate the effects of the labor and exposure inseparable from the "discharge of his episcopal duties" in that Diocese in which alone he can discharge them. They know of sickness which caused great uneasiness to his friends, as one which might easily have proved fatal to one of his age. They know of the continuance of this struggle to "discharge his duties," even at the risk of total helplessness or loss of his life, until his physician forbade the continuance of the effort, and took upon himself the responsibility of telegraphing to a clergyman who was expecting him, that he could not fulfil his engagement. With all this struggle, sickness and risk of health or life, he was "unable to discharge" his duties and must leave part of them undone. Therefore he accepted the offer of another Bishop to "discharge" the unfinished part for him. It was not necessary to say that he asked assistance because he needed it. The kind offer of the Bishop of Pittsburg was made on the assumption of such need. No Bishop would surely offer to do another Bishop's work unless he thought the help to be needed. And the Bishop of Central Pennsylvania is not the man to put his work upon others unless he is "unable" to do it himself. It remains only to show the fallacy of another assumption on which the writer's argument is in part based. The fact that a Bishop has been able to do a certain work during one year is assumed to show that he can go on doing it. Nothing is further from the truth. A man may be able to walk a hundred miles a day for five days, but be evidently unable to do it on the sixth. A man some time ago, the papers tell us, fell into a well, the water of which was deep enough to drown him. He caught, however, upon a projecting rock and held on desperately for half an hour, calling for help. At last a passer-by heard him and came to his relief. The man in the well urged him to make haste, telling him how long he had been already holding on. If the passer-by had read the REVIEW article on Assistant Bishops, and had been captivated by its reasoning, he would have said, "Put an extinguisher upon quibbles, my friend; how can you say,

that you are unable to hold on, when your own words, telling what you have done, are a proof of your ability? I will leave you unhelped until you drop off into the water." Fortunately for the sufferer, he did nothing of the kind, but acting upon the unconscious logic of common sense, he helped him out without delay.

The record of the Bishop's work for the past year, and of the difficulty with which it was done, confirmed the statement made of his need of assistance. The failure to proceed to the election of an Assistant was not, at least so far as many of the Convention were concerned, from any reluctance or want of interest, as the writer implies. It was because the Convention was already exhausted with the discussion of division, and the lay representation was rapidly thinning out, and it was not deemed desirable to proceed to an election with half the parishes unrepresented. The Convention, therefore, referred the matter to a committee, having made temporary provision for the Bishop's inability by voting a sum of money to procure the assistance of other Bishops as it was needed. Once more we come to a repetition of the ambiguity in the use of the word "unable," which is at the bottom of the whole argument. To be "unable" the Bishop must be broken down. When he has the misfortune to grow old, so that his work is too heavy for him, and he is compelled to say so to the Church, the reply is coolly: There is no help for you. You must go on and labor above your strength until you are broken down or until you drop in your tracks. When you are consigned to total helplessness, and this helplessness is ascertained to be permanent, you may have a successor who is nominally your assistant. A sorrowful prospect, truly, for the Bishops of the Church if they should be afflicted with any "permanent cause of infirmity," or live to old age. A hoary head may be "a crown of glory" to other righteous men, but it will be a sign of trembling and anticipation if the righteous man happens to be a Bishop. The Church provides no help to lighten his labors, but forces him on until he dies under his burdens or is consigned to a helplessness worse than death. This would be inhuman treatment if applied to an aged or disabled cab-horse. It will seem to

many rather a novelty in the treatment of aged or disabled Bishops. The words "permanent cause of infirmity" are certainly a very mild expression to involve so painful a condition of things as total and permanent helplessness. This treatment of aged servants of the Church is coolly recommended in the face of the fact that the Canon says not a word of "breaking down," either permanent or temporary. It simply says "unable to discharge his duties," unable to do full work, as the language plainly means. The fact of inability may be announced, in the case of those not yet disabled by age, by a temporary breakdown or a protracted sickness. But this temporary breakdown is not that upon which the claim for an Assistant is based. It is the "permanent weakness" of which this is the indication and the warning. In the case of an aged Bishop there is no necessity of waiting until nature gives one of her sharp remonstrances. That might be to wait until the Bishop was past all assistance; for to the aged such a breakdown means very often helplessness or death. It was to prevent this condition of things—to give to the aged and infirm such help as might prolong their lives, and save to the Church the services of men whose experience, ripened Christian character and influence, made their lives precious, although they could not by reason of bodily infirmity "discharge their duties"—that Assistant Bishops have been provided. To refuse to help an aged or infirm Bishop till he is past help, and then to provide an Assistant who does not assist, is certainly a gross perversion of the intention of the Canon.

Want of time prevents a further consideration of the article, but we submit the following to the sober judgment of all concerned.

1. "Able to discharge his duties" cannot possibly be made to mean the same as "*unable to discharge a part of them.*" Therefore, a Bishop is "unable to discharge his duties" when he is not able to do all that his Diocese requires and which a man of average health and strength might readily do; *and it has been so interpreted by the Church by her action in such cases.*

2. Precedents or analogies from the case of a President or Governor have no bearing upon the question, the inabil-

ity depending, in each case, upon the duties and the ability *required* to perform them.

3. That "old age or other permanent cause of infirmity," cannot by any possibility be tortured into meaning "*old age plus a total and permanent breakdown.*" Old age is in itself a cause of inability whenever it prevents the Bishop from rendering the full measure of service to be expected from one of average strength and health; and *it has been so interpreted by the Church by her action in such cases.*

4. "Permanent cause of infirmity" cannot, by any straining of the words, be made to mean the same thing as "*total and permanent breakdown.*" "Infirmity" means simply weakness. If the weakness is such as to prevent the Bishop from discharging, to the full measure, his duties, as he would otherwise be able to do, and *as he has been able to do*; and if the cause is permanent, then he is "unable" in the sense intended by the Canon; *and the Church by her action has so defined it.*

5. Except where the inability exists "by reason of old age," and where no doubt can arise as to the permanency of the cause, an intelligent and conscientious physician, acquainted with the facts of the case, is best able to decide as to the infirmity and the permanence of its cause, and the testimony of such a physician, given after careful examination, is the best evidence possible to be had for a right determination of the question of inability.

6. In the question as to inability from old age, where the strength fails gradually, the time when the Bishop reaches the point when he is no longer "able to discharge his duties" can be determined only by the Bishop himself. He best knows the "duties" and he alone knows his own power of labor and endurance. Therefore the testimony of the Bishop, being presumably a conscientious Christian man, and guided in his declarations by honor and truth, is the best evidence possible to be had in deciding the question as to his inability.

7. Dioceses represented by their Conventions composed of hundreds of clergy who have borne themselves without reproach, and of hundreds of the most intelligent and godly

laity of the Church, who have commanded the respect and earned the confidence of their fellow-citizens and fellow-Churchmen by lives of unblemished integrity and honor, and Bishops who have faithfully and effectively served the Church, perhaps for half a century, freely giving themselves to her service and so living that she has considered them worthy of her highest and most honorable office, are not to be held up as tricksters, trying to evade the law, nor to be pilloried before the Church with the charge of "bare-faced misrepresentation," because they happen to be guided, in their interpretation of the language of a Canon, by the usage of the Church for fifty years, and to disagree with the writer of the article on Assistant Bishops.

WM. P. ORRICK.

RECENT LITERATURE.

Nothing that has issued from the press during the last month, or for a long time past indeed, is of half so great interest to American Churchmen as the *Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer with the Book Annexed*; which though not published, have wisely been made accessible before the presentation of the Report, to give to Churchmen an opportunity for the deliberate examination of the same, before action is had on so important and weighty a matter.

The very careful and conservative manner in which the Committee have dealt with the subject committed to them will be grateful to those who were apprehensive of harm coming to the Church from the appointment of any committee for such an undertaking.

While most of the alterations and additions they propose, will, we believe, meet the grateful approbation of the Church generally, we must venture at the risk of being thought presumptuous, to remark upon a few particulars in which, as we conceive, their work might have been made more complete and satisfactory.

The first and most important thing that strikes us is that the Committee, in their work, do not seem to have had sufficiently in mind ritual precedents, or to have been governed by any comprehensive liturgical principles. The restoration of the whole of the XCV. Psalm, as the Invitatory of the Morning Office, the restoration of the whole of the *Benedictus*, as likewise of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*, is a movement in the right direction, as it is substantially the restoration of our Prayer Book back to its original form, as inherited by us from the Mother Church of England, and the undoing, for the most part, of the work of our well-meaning, but, liturgically, ignorant Revisors of one hundred years ago. But the efforts of the Committee to obtain greater variety in our worship by so modifying the Evening Office as to violate its constructive unity, and therefore its harmony, with the Morning Office, will be regarded, we think, by liturgical scholars rather as a marring than an enrichment of the Prayer Book. In the Original Offices from which our Prayer Book was compiled, certain Morning and Evening Offices stand over against each other, having almost an identity of frame-work or form of construction, yet almost entirely different in the matter of their contents. These are Lauds and Vespers, and Prime and Complin, which are almost identical in form, or features of construction, yet almost totally different in other respects. But our Committee have sought to attain variety by materially modifying the identity of form, thereby marring the harmony now existing, between our Morning and Evening Offices, rather than providing new matter for those portions of the Evening which are repetitions of corresponding portions of the Morning Office. To particularize, the Exhortation—"Dearly beloved brethren"—*must* be said every Sunday in the Morning Prayer, but may be omitted in the Evening Prayer. An alternative form of Confession has been inserted in the Evening Prayer without any corresponding change in the Morning Prayer. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, which, from the third century, has been the great Morning Hymn of the whole Eastern Church, and has stood in our Prayer Book in the Morning Office since it was placed there by our American Revisors, and allowed to be

used as a greater Doxology than the *Gloria Patri* after the Psalms at both Morning and Evening Prayer, is by our Committee removed from the Morning Prayer entirely and given in the Evening Prayer. Then the Preces, or Versicles and Responses, that follow the Creed, both Morning and Evening in the English Prayer Book, are restored to the Evening Prayer by our Committee, but not to the Morning. This marring of the unity of structure which now characterizes the two Offices is discordant and confusing in its effect, and is wholly unnecessary, as, with the wealth of liturgical material now within our reach, an Evening Office can be easily provided identical in structural form with the present one, without the repetition of a sentence contained in the Morning Office, except the Doxology and the Creed.* It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore, that this portion of the report of the Committee will not be adopted.

A word on some other recommendations of the Committee for attaining greater variety in our worship.

The restoration of the latter part of the xcvi. Psalm with its obligatory use in Lent and its discretionary use at other times, is excellent and wise, but would have been better if it had been provided that during Lent the Invitatory should begin at the 6th verse—"O come let us worship and fall down, etc.," as the jubilant beginning of the Psalm is as unsuited to seasons of humiliation and penitence, as is the sombre conclusion to seasons of joy.

The twenty new Selections of Psalms proposed will be found a great improvement on the old ones.

The provision of the six introductory verses to the Song of the Three Children, as an alternate for *Te Deum* or *Benedicite*, will give great satisfaction. But why was not an accurate translation of the original given? Omitting the three words "and to be" before "praised" in each verse mars, instead of improving the rythm. The Septuagint Greek of the second clause of the verses is *καὶ αἰνεῖτε, ὑπερυψώμενοι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι καὶ ὑπερυμνήτε καὶ ὑπερνέετε εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*.

The restoration of the whole of the *Benedictus* is a great gain, especially for that portion of the Church Year in which we commemorate our Lord's Incarnation.

But what could have led the Committee to insert the cxxi. Psalm—"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, etc." in the Morning Office, as an alternate for the *Benedictus* and *Jubilate*? It is one of the most striking Evening

* An item illustrating this the Committee have furnished in the proposed Prayer for the President in the Evening Service.

Psalms in the whole Psalter, and is as inappropriate for a Morning Office as the lxiii Psalm—"O God Thou art my God, early will I seek Thee, etc."—would be for an Evening Office. In the Roman, the Ambrosian, the Parisian and Lyons Breviaries it is contained in the Monday *Vespers* and is suitable for an Evening Office only.

The proposed substitution of Psalm xlii and Psalm xliii as Responsaries to the First and Second Lessons in the Evening Prayer on Ash Wednesday, and permissibly throughout Lent, for the Responsaries appointed to be used at other times, without any corresponding provision for introducing the penitential element in the Morning Prayer is another instance of widening the breach in unity of construction between the two services, and an awkward expedient for getting what can be much more easily attained, and for both services alike, by a return to the order of the Original Offices from which our Prayer Book was compiled. It is as follows:

After the *Benedictus* at Lauds and *Magnificat* at Vespers, the Creed not being said in these Offices, but in Prime and Compline, stands the following Rubric:

"On *Ferias* [Week-days] of *Advent*, *Lent*, in the *Ember-weeks* and on *Vigils*, which are *Fasts* (Except *Christmas Eve* and the *Vigil* and *Ember Days* of *Pentecost*) after the *Antiphon* of the *Benedictus* and at *Vespers* after the *Antiphon* of the *Magnificat*, the following *Preces* shall be said kneeling; at other Seasons they shall not be said."

Then follow three *Kyries*, the Lord's Prayer and thirteen Versicles and Responses, six of which are restored to the Evening Prayer only by our Committee. These are followed by the Rubric.

Then shall be said, Psalm cxxx. *De Profundis*."

After the Psalm follows the Rubric. "At *Vespers*, instead of it shall be said, Psalm li, *Miserere*."

The Psalm being ended, four Versicles and Responses are said and followed by the Rubric,

"Then shall be said the *Collect* for the Day."

These *Preces* are the same in Lauds and Vespers, being followed, in the former office, in Lent, by the *De Profundis*, and in the latter by the *Miserere*. The *Preces* of Prime and Compline are entirely different; those of Prime being appropriate to the beginning of the day, and those of Compline to its close. On Wednesdays during Lent are said in this place the whole group of the Gradual Psalms,* of which the

* "These are the fifteen Psalms, cxx.—cxxxiv., probably in part an adapta-

De Profundis is one, and on Fridays are said the seven Penitential Psalms, of which the *Miserere* is one, followed by the Litany.

But besides this facility which the Rubrics of the Old Offices gave for introducing special acts of devotion in the more Solemn Seasons in connection with the Prayers, they had equal facility for giving the colour of every Ecclesiastical Season to the portion of the Offices preceding the Prayers, not only by the Antiphons to the Psalms, but by the Responsaries to the Lessons. These in our Prayer Book are all jubilant, and to bring in here the penitential element, at least into the Evening Prayer, was the aim of the Committee in substituting Psalms xlii and xliii for the other Responsaries after the Lessons in that Office. But neither Psalms or Canticles were used as Responsaries to the Lessons in the Old Offices. These were framed with reference to the Feast or Fast in the Festal and Penitential Seasons, and drawn from the subjects of the Lessons at other times. The Canticles, or Scripture Hymns, were an integral part of the body of the Office, precisely as were the Psalms, the principal Offices having their fixed Canticles, and the Office of Lauds having a different Canticle for each day of the week. The hymn *Te Deum*, to particularize, was said after the last Lesson at Nocturns, on Sundays and Feasts, instead of its appointed Responsary; the *Benedicite* was the fixed Canticle of the Sunday Lauds, the Song of Isaiah of Monday, the Song of Hezekiah of Tuesday Lauds, and so on, through the week. The *Benedictus* is a standing Canticle in Lauds every day throughout the week, while the *Magnificat* is the invariable Canticle of Vespers, and the *Nunc Dimittis* of Compline. Now the Reformers, in consolidating and abbreviating the Old Offices into the Book of Common Prayer, for the sake of brevity and simplicity, took the Canticles for the different Offices as the *invariable* Responsaries to the Lessons read in them, except that the *Benedicite* was to be used instead of *Te Deum* in Lent. The *Te Deum* which had been the Responsary after the last Lesson of Nocturns on Sundays and Festivals, they made the Responsary after the First Lesson, and *Benedictus*, the standing Canticle of Lauds, the Responsary after the Second Lesson in the

tion of ancient hymns, and forming originally a Psalter within a Psalter.' "The characteristics of these Psalms are sweetness, tenderness, sympathy and brevity." "No one of them bears an individual character, all refer to the whole Church of God. The fundamental thought in all is the Providence of God watching over His Church."

Morning Prayer; and the *Magnificat*, the Canticle of Vespers, and *Nunc Dimittis*, the Canticle of Compline, the Responsaries after the two Lessons, respectively, in the Evening Prayer. And these were all that were provided by the Compilers of our Prayer Book from the Old Offices. The addition of Psalms, as substitutes for the Evangelical Canticles, was made in the revision of 1552, to stop the clamor of the Puritans, who objected to the Canticles as being Popish; "*these glorious and unquiet spirits*," as Cranmer called them, "*which can like nothing but is after their own fancy; and cease not to make trouble when things be most quiet and in good order.*" This substitution of Psalms for the Canticles is, therefore, manifestly against all ritual precedent, and it is desirable to curtail, rather than expand, this feature of our Prayer Book Offices. For Festivals and times not penitential, what we now have is all that can be desired. Our present lack of Responsaries, corresponding with the lessons in Penitential Seasons, could most satisfactorily be supplied by framing a few after the fashion of the old ones, to be placed with the "Proper Anthems for certain Festivals," as provided by the Committee in the "Book Annexed." To enable the reader to form an idea of their structure, we will give two or three each, for Advent and Lent, as follows:

Responsory to the Second Lesson of the First Sunday in Advent.

V. I beheld in the night visions, and behold in the clouds of Heaven One like unto the Son of Man; and there was given to Him a kingdom and glory, and every people, nation and tongue shall serve Him.

R. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not be taken away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. And there was given to Him a kingdom and glory, and every people, nation and tongue shall serve Him.

Glory, etc.

Responsory to the Seventh Lesson of the First Sunday in Advent.

V. Behold, a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, saith the Lord. And His Name shall be Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God.

R. He shall sit upon the throne of David, and of His Kingdom there shall be no end. And His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God.

Glory, etc.

Responsory to the Ninth Lesson of the First Sunday in Advent.

V. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise up to David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign, and prosper and shall execute judgment and righteousness in the earth. And this is His Name whereby He shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

R. In His day Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely. And this is His Name wherby He shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.
Glory, *etc.*

Responsory after the Third Lesson of the First Sunday in Lent.

V. With fasting and weeping let the priests pray, saying: Spare, O LORD, spare Thy people, and give not Thine heritage to destruction.

R. Let the priests weep between the porch and the altar, saying: Spare, O LORD, spare Thy people and give not Thine heritage to destruction.
Glory, *etc.*

After the Fourth Lesson of the First Sunday in Lent.

V. Let us amend those things wherein we have ignorantly sinned; lest, suddenly prevented by death, we should seek a place of repentance and find it not. Hear, LORD, and have mercy, for we have sinned against Thee.

R. Help us, O God of our Salvation, and for the glory of Thy name, O LORD, deliver us. Hear, LORD, and have mercy; for we have sinned against Thee.

Glory, *etc.*

After the Eighth Lesson of the same Sunday.

V. Deal Thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor and the wanderer to thine house. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy righteousness shall go before thy face.

R. When Thou seest the naked cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy righteousness shall go before thy face.

Glory, *etc.*

But not to dwell longer on details, considering the work of the Committee generally, in our view of the matter, it comes very far short of meeting what a majority of Churchmen, as we believe, desire, and what the interests of the Church now absolutely require. They seem to have been afraid to do what they evidently had a mind to, and from apprehensions of startling the Church by going too far, did only in part.

In the matter of provision for shorter services, for instance, their recommendations, if adopted, will afford a much-needed relief to those Parishes which have Daily Prayers and Weekly Communion; but beyond this, excepting their valuable recommendations for restoring our Prayer-Book back nearer to its original form, they will hardly be felt at all. For though it is allowed in Week-day services to begin at the Lord's Prayer, or in Lent, at the Bidding to Prayer, followed by the Confession, yet on Sunday mornings the "Dearly beloved brethren" *must* be said. So of the provision recommended for curtailing the length of Morning and Evening Prayer, concluding with the third Collect; this may be done on Week-days but not on Sundays. Likewise in the Communion Office, the recitation of the Decalogue may be omitted at the second celebration on the same day in those few churches that have it, but in all other cases it must be

said. So the exhortation at the time of celebration "*may be omitted if it hath been already said once in that same month.*"

But in Churches which have Morning and Evening Prayer only on Sundays and the Communion only once a month, none of these provisions are of any avail at all. They must continue on using the full services provided in the Prayer Book, precisely as all have done heretofore. And such Churches are the great majority of our land, who need and demand relief in the matter of the length of services as well as the Churches in cities and towns. Indeed they *need* it a great deal more; for a considerable proportion of their Congregations, and especially of the Congregations that attend upon the ministrations of the Church throughout our vast Missionary field, extending as it does, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, consists of persons not raised in the Church, and not accustomed, therefore, to any liturgical forms; who, while appreciating to some extent the beauties of our Services, usually object to them as too formal and intolerably long. This is a great obstacle to the acceptance of our services and the growth of the Church in those places where she is not established throughout the land; and there was far greater need for the Committee to address themselves to giving relief in this direction than to provide it for the small fraction of the Church to which only their provisions can apply.

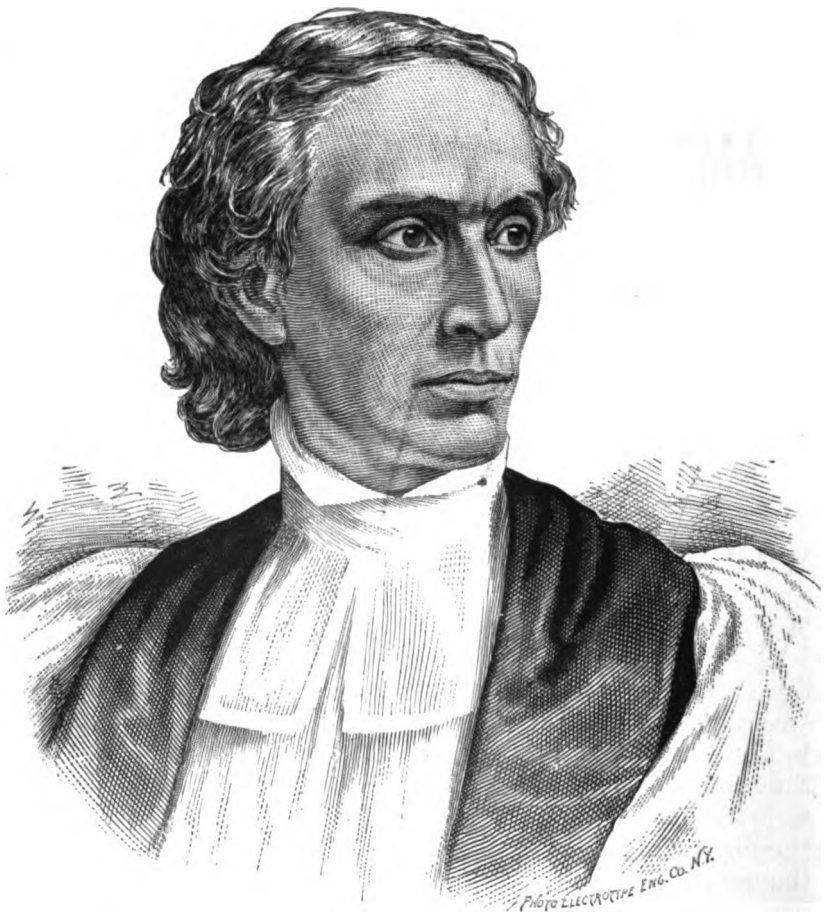
There is a way, as we conceive, and a very simple and comprehensive one, by which can be attained all that can be desired by Urbane, or Rural, or Missionary Parishes or Congregations in the matter of shorter services and greater flexibility in the use of the Prayer Book; and that is *by making discretionary the use of all the additions that were made to the Prayer Book Offices after they were first formulated from their Original Sources by our Martyred Reformers under the reign of Edward the VI.* These additions, as all Churchmen know, were made in great part at the suggestions and under the heavy and persistent pressure of the Continental Divines, who, for ages, hovered about the English Reformers, and left no efforts untried to eliminate from the Liturgical Offices of the English Church, every Catholic feature, and reduce her ritual, as well as her doctrines, to the low level of Calvinistic, fanatical Protestantism. Many of the additions then made were useful at the time, which, under the changed circumstances of the present, are so only in exceptional cases. The Exhortations, for instance, which were inserted in the Morning and Evening Offices, were effective Sermonettes, as they now are, when

addressed to those who are uninstructed in the nature of Christian worship and the conditions of its acceptableness with God, but to old Congregations which have been instructed in these things from infancy, the repetition of these addresses is *jejune* and wearisome, and a dead weight upon the elasticity and glow of our habitual worship. And so of other particulars under this head, as the repetition of the Decalogue every Sunday, which we have not space here to dwell upon.

No attempt seems to have been made by the Committee to provide, what is a great desideratum in many City Parishes throughout the land, a second Evening Service for the Lord's day.

Why, everybody is asking, have the Committee changed the time for celebrating the Feast of our Lord's Transfiguration, for which they have wisely provided a Collect, Epistle and Gospel, from August 6th to January 18th? It is true that the observance of this Festival was not authoritatively established in the Church of Rome until 1445, under the Pontificate of Calixtus III.; so that if the time of its observance had no other authority than a late Papal one, the precedent might not be regarded as of much obligatory force; but it has been fixed and celebrated by the Greek Church at this date—August 6th—for over twelve hundred years. To set aside a precedent of such long standing in the most Orthodox branch of the ancient Catholic Church is unwarrantable, except for good reasons, of which, if they exist, the Committee have given no intimation.

But we forbear. We had in mind several other particulars of the Report to remark upon, but the length to which this notice has run precludes it. A good beginning, and some progress, has been made, and mainly in the right direction. But the adoption of this Report as a *finality*, would by no means provide for the wants of all departments of the Church's worship and work. Let the Convention accept and recommend to the Dioceses for adoption, the recommendations of the Committee which meet with general acceptance, but let the Committee be continued, or another be appointed to continue their work, as the publication of this Report, and the discussions which it will call forth, will awaken great interest, and if the Committee is continued, and the matter left open for its better perfecting and fuller development, an impetus will be given to liturgical study and research during the next three years, which cannot be without important results in the attainment of what will generally satisfy, and contribute greatly to the edification of, the whole Church.



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AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

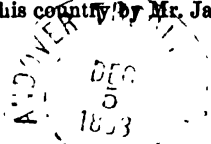
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WHAT IS CATHOLICISM? WHAT IS ROMANISM?*

WHAT is Catholicism? What is Romanism? Is there any difference between them? It would be interesting and profitable, and withal very sad, to hear the answers which would be given by nine men out of every ten to these questions. The ignorance on the subject which these inquiries probe and lay bare is almost universal, and as profound as it is widespread. The learned share it with the illiterate, the scholar and the refined gentleman with the rustic and the boor. The great mass of Romanists, equally with Protestants, are here at one; they know little or nothing about the subject. They both identify Catholicism and Romanism, and for the same reason, ignorance, though with an opposite result. The one is a Romanist because he holds that Romanism and Catholicism are iden-

* This article has been prepared as an introduction to a book entitled "Papal Claims with Light of Scripture and History," by an English author, and originally published with a preface by the Bishop of Bedford. The work will soon be republished in this country by Mr. James Pott.



tical, and *he must be a Catholic*; and the other is a Protestant because he is persuaded that Catholicism and Romanism are the same, and whatever else he may be *he cannot be a Romanist*. This ignorance seems to be proof against ordinary methods of enlightenment. Its victims love the shadow of ignorance, partly because it is hereditary, and covers a multitude of sins of their forefathers and their own, partly because it is an excuse for their position; it reconciles them to their religious habits, and accounts for their temper, and disposition, and acts, and words; and partly because it is their interest to remain ignorant, since the capital with which they trade and the weapons with which they fight would be swept away, were the distinction between Romanism and true Catholicism generally understood, and clearly apprehended by the public. The object of the excellent little monograph by an anonymous English author, to which we have been asked by the enterprising American publisher to write an introduction, has this laudable object in view, to enlighten the public as to the essence of Romanism and the true nature of Catholicism, and the consequent real distinction between them.

When this object has been secured an immense amount of utterly useless controversy will be forever at an end; the mischievous occupation of a large number of polemics will be forever gone; the drift to Rome on the part of earnest but ill-informed persons, which has of late years been checked, will virtually cease, and, on the other hand, candid and intelligent Romanists, when their eyes are opened, will seek the communion of the one holy catholic and apostolic Church in this land by renouncing allegiance to the usurped and uncatholic and uncanonical claim to spiritual obedience on the part of the Bishop of Rome. We commend this little book to the careful and thoughtful perusal of all into whose hands it may come. It is, indeed, itself but an introduction, but it opens the subject wisely and well—*wisely*, because the spirit in which it is written is admirable; there is no bitterness, there is no abuse; *well*, because the case is plainly and succinctly stated, and the interested inquirer, who would prosecute his researches further, is modestly yet sufficiently helped to do so.

To recur to our questions with which we started: What is Catholicism? What is Romanism? Is there any difference between them? Catholicism is the word which expresses the universality of the Church of God, the Body of Christ, as united under one head, her sovereign incarnate Lord, seated on the eternal throne in Heaven, which continues now as from the first, "steadfastly in the doctrine of the apostles and the fellowship, and the breaking of the bread, and the prayers."* The centre of unity in the Catholic Church is Christ in Heaven, the sun of righteousness. He diffuses His life-giving power organically through His deputies, appointed by Himself, the Apostles, and their successors in all lands. When Christ, risen from the dead in His glorified humanity, stood on the Mount of the Ascension just before He went up into Heaven, with His eleven Apostles around Him, there was presented an initial object lesson of the Catholic Church in its Head and members, in its character, and scope and duration. The centre, the Head is Christ, the Apostles stand equally related to Him. They are the radii. He speaks to them *all alike*, and His commission through them sweeps around the entire circle, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." It is a commission universal as to territory, "all the world;" universal as to subjects, "every creature." In their relation to Him, as subordinates to a superior, *they are on a perfect equality*. "Go ye," He says to the eleven, not "go thou," to one, *S. Peter*. Their message is the same, to proclaim and teach "whatsoever he has commanded them," and they are all equally empowered to teach, not one independently of the rest, and they dependent upon Him, but all mutually dependent upon each other in order to secure compliance with the condition imposed by Christ as a limit and boundary of their teaching, "whatsoever He had commanded," *nothing more, nothing less*. The

"Ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς."—Acts ii., 42.

*The original has the article prefixed to each of the nouns—doctrine, fellowship, breaking of bread, and prayers.

duration of this state of things in all its essential details is to be "for all time." "Lo! I am with you alway," says our Lord, "even to the end of the world."* Here we have the picture of the Catholic Church. It is prepared and arranged by our Blessed Lord Himself. It is photographed for us, for our study, by the Holy Ghost. The grouping is Christ's, the adjustment of all the particulars is His. It is the solemn moment of His departure from earth, no more to appear again until He comes, when human history is ended, to judge both the quick and the dead at the last great day. It is the initial object lesson given by Christ of His Church, the Catholic Church. Look at it. It shows us Christ in His relation to His chief ministers and their successors, equally near to all; not one, S. Peter reclining on His bosom and the others at a distance, learning through his lips their Master's will. That place had been S. John's at the last supper, never S. Peter's. Now all are at an equal remove, and all hear alike and on equal terms their Lord's commands, "Go ye," "teach ye," "baptize ye." They are to go, to teach, to baptize in immediate dependence upon Him, not in subordinate dependence upon one preferred before his fellows, and then through him and only through him responsible to Christ. Look at the picture narrowly, carefully, critically, you will find it in the Holy Gospel, it refuses absolutely to suggest, much less present, such an idea. The next picture of the Christian Church, the Body of Christ, is sketched by the Holy Ghost of its condition immediately after the day of Pentecost, and in its teaching as regards all points indeed, but especially the one which now claims our attention, is in perfect harmony with the first. The Blessed Spirit paints the portrait of the first Christians, *the very first*, there were none before them, by these graphic words: "They continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers." How precisely and accurately does this state of things, as a reality presenting existing facts, correspond with what our Lord contemplates when He says to the eleven, "Go ye," "teach ye," "bap-

*S. Matthew, xxviii. 19, 20. S. Mark, xvi. 15.

tize ye"! They, with S. Matthias added to their number, have fulfilled His behests, and lo! the results, the subjects of their teaching and ministrations, the laity, "continue steadfastly in their (the Apostles') doctrine and fellowship, and the breaking of bread and in the prayers." As on the Mount of Ascension, in prospect of work, the Apostles stand in official relation equally near to their Divine Master, so now when they have begun their labors, and are ministering to devout men "out of every nation under Heaven," their converts look to them severally as on a level of perfect equality, they continue steadfastly in the *Apostles'* doctrine, etc., not *one's*—*S. Peters*, but in that of *all*. This is catholicity; it is utterly inconsistent with Romanism. It is equally, be it observed, with our Lord's object lesson just before He ascended, inconsistent with sectarianism. Romanism and sectarianism are alike utterly and absolutely irreconcilable with the chart and charter of His Church as given by Christ on the Mount of Ascension, and with the organism and condition of the Church as it existed at the first, in pentecostal times, when the original eleven, inspired by the Holy Ghost, planted, and watered, and builded, and God gave the increase. Catholicism, then, expresses the condition of the Church of Christ, as organized by Him, so that all, through His deputies, the Apostles, and their successors, teaching, laboring, ministering in His name in all lands, should stand equally related to Him, should be equally near to Him, should equally share in His blessings the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. The Catholic Church in its government and jurisdiction, as organized by Christ, is an oligarchy on earth composed originally of the eleven Apostles, under their Divine Master as their head, and then and afterward to the end of the world of their official successors, the Bishops under Christ, as their head. The ministry of the Church in its highest order, Bishops, is first in order of time, and through their official acts they beget the laity, and nourish them and build them up by the Word and Sacraments. The essential principles of the government of the Church are confessedly revealed in Holy Scripture, and these in the nature of things cannot change; when once, therefore, we clearly ascertain these

principles, we have settled the question forever what the polity of the Church must be. This we can assuredly do by the repeated illustrations given us in the Acts and Epistles and Revelation of the condition of the Church throughout the civilized world for the first one hundred years of its existence, and hence we have abundant opportunity and ample material to enable us to form a sure and solid judgment as to what these principles are, and what they are not. For our present purpose it is sufficient to state that we clearly see the Apostles after their long sojourn together in Jerusalem, in obedience to their Lord's behest, going forth into all the world, and planting and organizing churches independent of any earthly centre, and dependent through them on Christ alone as their sovereign ruler and head.

We see nothing in Holy Scripture of an absolute monarchy dominating the Church and substituting a human head on earth unlimited from beneath the place of Christ, the Divine Head in Heaven. We see the Apostles laboring in different countries, working on their own lines, with results varying as to the people whom they taught, and their own individuality as to genius, and temper, and character, but the same as to doctrine, and practice, and sacraments, and worship. These churches, thus apostolically founded, we find in the earliest glimpses which ecclesiastical history affords us of their condition to be mutually related to each other, as members of a common family looking up to their Head, Christ in Heaven. The differences as to power and influence among these branches of the Church were due then, as in all time, to what are called the accidents of earthly estate and circumstances, so that the bishop of a large, wealthy diocese was accounted among men as more important than his brother who presided over an obscure and insignificant see, but in their official character they were absolutely equal. For purposes of government and administration there must needs be a conventional arrangement by which there shall be officers of human appointment to preside in the assemblies of the faithful, and execute their behests as embodied in canons, and take orders for the carrying on the various functions of the kingdom of

Christ on earth. These offices, called by whatever name, are not orders in the divinely appointed ministry of the Church, but simply titles and distinctions to denote those whose duty it is to discharge these functions more or less necessary to the well being of the Church. Hence patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, primates, and other like names are words of purely ecclesiastical origin, and describe, with more or less accuracy, the position and duties to which the Church has called certain bishops. When thus elevated by their fellows to posts of relative superiority, they are in their official character simply bishops still. More they cannot be, because God has appointed no higher order in His ministry than that of Bishop. The Pope of Rome, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, are by Divine appointment simply bishops; by human arrangement they hold the respective positions on earth indicated by these names. The Catholic Church, then, in its corporate union by Divine constitution, is a kingdom with its King on His throne in Heaven. His immediate deputies on earth are Bishops who prolong in time the radii which carried the original official commission from His Divine human person on the Mount of Ascension to the eleven, and subsequently to the twelfth, S. Matthias. They, under Him, have the plenitude of official power. The original eleven, acting under their Lord, not only created an equal in filling Judas' place with S. Matthias, but also appointed successors who would take their places when they were removed by death; besides they called into being the diaconate, to which they delegated a certain portion of their powers, and the priesthood or presbyterate, to which they added other powers beyond those of the diaconate, but not all their powers, reserving to themselves pre-eminently the power of ordination. "All power," said our Lord, "is given unto me. Go ye, therefore, teach, preach, baptize." Spiritual power comes from above, not from beneath; from Christ, the Head, the King on His throne in Heaven, to the Apostles, as officers, the highest officers by Divine appointment on earth, and through them the spiritual power for the same blessed purposes of governing, administering and preserving Christ's

kingdom on earth is continued in their official successors, the Bishops, who are over the churches in all lands. The Catholic Church, as constituted by God, as appears in Scripture and early ecclesiastical history, runs a parallel with the kingdom of nature; the head is in the skies, the ministers are on earth, and receive from Him and dispense His good gifts. The Sun of righteousness, like the natural Sun, is above the clouds, and sheds His light and heat and life-giving power from above through earthly ministries in all lands, and is the common property of all, and belongs exclusively to none. Romanism, by which we mean the system of Church government as formulated and now held as *de fide*, as "of faith," by the Roman communion, is the direct antithesis of Catholicism. Catholicism is universal; Romanism is local. Catholicism looks to Christ in Heaven as the Head; Romanism looks to the Pope on earth as the head. Catholicism recognizes freedom regulated by law as the inheritance of all lands; Romanism subjects all to the absolute will and control of one man. Catholicism appeals to Scripture and ecclesiastical history in vindication of its essential principles and lines of action; Romanism supersedes both and substitutes the unlimited will of one Bishop as the absolute arbiter and judge in all matters of faith and morals. Catholicism embodies and reduces to practice in their best sense the democratic and oligarchic principles; it recognizes fully the rights, and makes provision for the expression of the voice of the people, and it places over them in the Lord the sacred ministry to win, persuade, teach and guide them, and execute their will. Romanism is an absolute, unlimited monarchy. Its sovereign, the Pope, is above all, and controlled by none. In theory, the clergy and laity under their system have no will — much less a voice. Let us clearly understand the essence of Romanism, the root error which is the parent, and the nourisher, and protector of the whole system of doctrinal error and practical corruption which Rome endorses and owns. This root error is her theory of Church government. On this everything else turns; to this everything else ultimately comes. "The supremacy of the Pope" expresses the idea. This means that the Pope is in the place of Christ

as the head and centre of the Church. He is above all and different from all. No limitations can be put upon his will, since, as a logical outcome of the doctrine of the supremacy, the Pope is, as the Roman Church now teaches, infallible. The Holy Ghost imparts to him the supernatural gift which secures him officially, within the sphere of faith and morals, from falling into error. Councils, if convened, simply assemble to record his conclusions. Clergy and laity, if they speak, simply open their lips to echo his sentiments and wishes. The Roman theory of Church government makes the Pope the universal monarch. The whole earth is his diocese, and he is by Christ's commission the one Bishop of the entire world. There are in the Roman communion, it is true, cardinals, and archbishops, and bishops; but these are merely agents of the Pope, acting in his place because he cannot, in the nature of things, as a man, be everywhere, they simply represent him. He appoints them all, and if the local authorities are allowed to suggest nominees for his preference, this is not by right, but only by permission. Romanism replaces Judaism, and so utterly fails to satisfy the prophecies which have gone before declaring the nature, and scope, and character of the Catholic Church. "In Judah is God known; His name is great in Israel,"* is the genius of Judaism. By God's express arrangement it was a local religion; its successor, the Church of Christ, as the prophets declare, was to be catholic, world-wide, universal. Romanism replaces Judaism, and so fails to satisfy the claims of prophecy, which demand an economy in contradistinction to Judaism; not local, not national, but diffusive, equally at home in all lands and among all peoples. Romanism replaces, we say, Judaism; Italy takes the place of Palestine; Rome that of Jerusalem; the Vatican that of the Temple; and the Pope that of the High Priest. Every Jew was obliged, wherever he might be on the face of the earth, to look toward Jerusalem for his spiritual privileges and blessings. Daniel, in Babylon, opens his window toward Jerusalem when he prays; the Eunuch comes from Ethiopia to Jerusalem to

* Psalms, lxxvi. 1.

worship; so, precisely, every subject of the Pope must look to Rome for his ministry and sacraments. The Pope appoints and consecrates his bishop, and so the Pope, and the Pope alone, gives him his spiritual life, and teaching, and sustenance. Romanism is thus utterly out of joint with the Old Testament Scriptures, the word of prophecy. It is equally inconsistent with the New. Romanism asserts that our Lord made S. Peter the sole depository of ministerial gifts, and through him the other Apostles received. He was made Christ's vicar, and the earth was given to him for his spiritual possession. His successors in his chair at Rome inherit his plenitude of power, and so they are to-day precisely what he was officially when he ruled from Rome the Church of God while he was alive. We have seen that this theory is absolutely inconsistent with the original and final charter and commission given by Christ to His apostles to plant and organize His Church, which was to come into being ten days after He had spoken and acted. The whole scene, the grouping of the persons, as well as the words spoken, cannot by any ingenuity be brought into harmony with papal supremacy. Our Lord does not have S. Peter resting on his breast and allow the others to ask him what is said, but He addresses directly all alike, and bids them "go ye," "teach ye," "baptize ye." Compare this picture, with our Lord as the centre, as the head, and the apostles around Him, with Romanism, which presents the Church with S. Peter locked in our Lord's embrace, and his fellow disciples beneath him, at the foot of the Mount, looking up to him and learning from his mouth what Jesus says, and it will be seen that the two are absolutely inconsistent. Again, take another point of comparison out of many which might be presented, and see how utterly irreconcilable Catholicity and Romanism are. S. Peter, remember, in the theory of Roman supremacy, was precisely what the Pope is. The Bishop of Rome derives his prerogatives, and powers, and privileges from S. Peter. The stream cannot rise above its fountain; the present Pope cannot be higher than S. Peter. He cannot, in relation to his cardinals, be more than S. Peter was to his fellow Apostles. In the eighth chapter of the Acts we read that "when the Apostles, which

were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John." Imagine the College of Cardinals to-day sending the Pope and the Bishop of Ostia on a confirmation tour to Florence or Naples. The very idea is absurd. The Church of Rome is responsible for holding and teaching that S. Peter sat and presided as her first bishop for five and twenty years. During this interval S. Paul addressed his Epistle to the Romans. Can it be conceived that if S. Peter were what the Pope claims to be, the Apostle of the Gentiles would absolutely ignore the presence and jurisdiction, not merely of his colleague and equal, but his superior, upon whom he depended for his official existence and mission? Is it possible that S. Paul could have withstood S. Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed,* had he enjoyed the place and prerogatives which the Bishop of Rome claims to possess to-day? The words of S. Paul, had they occurred in the Epistles of S. Peter, would doubtless have replaced the text which now surrounds the dome of S. Peter's, because they would have been much more to the purpose of supporting the Papal claims than the declaration of our Lord to S. Peter. S. Paul says: "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." (2 Cor. xi. 28). How accurately does this statement describe the practical duties of the Pope in accordance with the theory of Roman supremacy! But the statement is made by S. Paul, not by S. Peter; and it is absolutely inconsistent with the sovereignty of S. Peter and his alleged successors in the See of Rome. our Lord's words to S. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,"† are now the stronghold of the Roman controversialist in seeking to maintain his cause from Holy Scripture. If this be all, how weak his case must be! It must be all, or next to all, he has to allege in favor of his monstrous claims for the Pope, since he makes the most of his single text. He places it on the dome of his great cathedral; he adduces it on every occasion; he brings

* Galatians, ii. 11.

† S. Matt. xvi. 18.

it forward to settle every controversy; he flings it with triumph at the head of every adversary; it is his great, his almost only resource. How far removed it is from giving support to what the Pope claims to-day, a moment's consideration will show. Our Lord had asked a question, and in doing so asserted a fact. "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" The question which He puts is what men's estimate of Him is; the fact which He asserts is that He is the Son of Man—that is, the perfect man. S. Peter responds, when our Lord presses the inquiry still further: "But whom do ye say that I, the Son of Man, am?" with the reply: "I say that Thou, the Son of Man, art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Here we have the confession of the doctrine of the Incarnation in its fullness, the acknowledgement of the perfect divinity in the affirming "that He is the Son of God," and the acknowledgment of his perfect humanity in the acceptance of our Lord's assertion "that He is the Son of Man." It is the first time this declaration of the Catholic faith in its fullness had fallen from human lips. These factors, the believing in the heart, and the confession with the mouth, make the living stones with which the spiritual temple, the Church, is to be built, and S. Peter is the first of these living stones, by the grace of God, into which these elements enter; and our Lord, the foundation stone, the corner stone, accepts him as the first, and places him on Himself, and rewards him with the promise that on him, Peter, in thus believing and making profession of his faith, all others who in future shall believe and proclaim their faith shall be built. This is literally true; no one ever has, or does, or can believe in the incarnation, the Catholic faith, without following the example of S. Peter, and becoming, like him, a living stone, and taking his place in one or other of the two walls which meet and rest upon the sure foundation corner stone, which is Christ. The Divine history of the New Testament goes still further to illustrate and explain these words of our Lord to S. Peter. He who first became a living stone by believing and confessing, was chosen to be the first to proclaim this faith to others, and win them to accept and own it; and so, through the spirit of God, to convert them from

dead stones into living stones, and build them with his own hand into the spiritual temple. This he did, both to the Jews on the day of Pentecost, and the Gentiles in the persons of Cornelius and his household. These incidents in S. Peter's life are not accidental, as men count occurrences; they are crucial, signal acts, designed and arranged by God Himself. S. Peter challenges attention to this himself when he says to his assembled colleagues and brethren in the council at Jerusalem: "God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe."

The significance of the facts is great. S. Peter by divine arrangement, first puts forth his hand and takes the stones from the Jewish quarry and places them on the corner stone in the one wall, and then, by the same appointment, he first puts forth his hand again and takes the stones from the Gentile quarry and places them on the corner stone in the other wall, and thus historically he fulfills in his own person the promise of our Lord in that he begins the building of the two walls which meet and rest upon and are bound together by the corner stone, Christ. What connection have the declaration and the promise, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church" with the claims of the present or any previous Bishop of Rome? It is difficult to see. Whatever they suggest, they do not imply any successors to whom the name and the privilege will descend, they do not convey the idea of any official gift which was to be transmitted to others; they simply affirm a fact that the great Apostle in first grasping with the mind and believing with the heart and professing with the mouth the Catholic faith, justified the name long since given to him, and became a living stone, the first of those which should be added until the building was complete, resting upon the same foundation, Christ, the Rock, the living God. Such a discussion might be prolonged, but an introduction must have limits, and we will close with calling attention to a difficulty which is fatal to the continuance of the powers and privileges of S. Peter as claimed by the Papal theory of Church government, even granting that they once existed. In the polity of the Catholic Church

provision is made for the transmission of the grace of Orders by the Apostolical Canon, "Let a bishop be consecrated by two or three bishops," and by the Nicene enactment that three bishops at least must unite in consecrating a new bishop. Here equals create an equal, and the Apostolical succession is not, as it is frequently and erroneously alleged, a chain of single links, but a network of innumerable strands. In the polity of the Roman obedience, however, the Papal succession is not only a chain of single links, but, wonderful to relate, with only a few exceptions, the links are all disconnected, separated generally by weeks, frequently by months, sometimes by years. The doctrine of Roman supremacy teaches that the Pope is above all, that he is invested with powers which no one else on earth possesses. All are beneath him in official power, and privilege, and dignity. He is *sui generis*. When the Pope dies, therefore, where are his powers, and privileges, and prerogatives? No human being possesses them. After an interval a new Pope is chosen; how does he recover these powers, not by the hands of any earthly ecclesiastic, since there is none that has them to bestow. It would seem, therefore, that the Pope must descend to the level of the congregational minister, and affirm that his official status is conferred upon him by the people, or their representatives in the Roman system, the cardinals. But this involves the absurdity of admitting that the stream can rise higher than the fountain, that it is possible to give to another what you do not possess yourself; or else the Bishop of Rome may say that he has the inward call and anointing of the Holy Spirit, and that he himself is alone the judge and witness in the premises, and so he takes his place side by side with the self-appointed and constituted ministries of the religious bodies around us. Extremes meet, ultra Romanism and ultra protestanism unite in a hundred points. In opposite ways, unintentionally, they both help forward the cause of infidelity and rebellion against God. From opposite motives, yet with equal zeal, they both unite in seeking to oppose and beat down and destroy the Holy Catholic Church. This little book is directed against errors, not men; it is intended to present the case in a calm, argumentative way as far

removed from bitterness and ill-temper as possible. We sincerely trust that this article breathes the same spirit. Such, at least, is our purpose; it has been our aim to follow the Apostolic precept, and speak the truth in love.

GEORGE F. SEYMOUR.

THE PRAYER BOOK IN THE CONVENTION OF 1886.

THE consideration in the late General Convention of the elaborate report of the Joint Committee on the Prayer Book, elicited some diversity of opinion as to the proper course to be taken by that, as the primary Convention in reference to the changes then proposed, since they cannot, under the Constitution, be adopted, except by the succeeding Convention, after three years of criticism of them by the Church at large. There were some who felt that the propositions must be at once made as perfect as possible, because the second Convention would have no power over the subject, except to reject the changes, or to adopt them in the precise terms in which they had been adopted in the primary Convention, without the slightest modification in expression, punctuation or arrangement, and that, unless so adopted, the propositions would fail, or at least would necessarily go back for three years more of deliberation.

It was this feeling that led the Convention to spend many hours of discussion upon some of the first propositions in the Report. But it soon became apparent that they could not all be gone through with at that rate, and so some of the later ones were passed with hardly any discussion, and several amendments to the propositions reported were allowed to come in, without spending upon them the fast-ebbing time—amendments which would probably have been more strenuously resisted but for the desire that all the propositions should pass the ordeal of the first Convention,

and so be in a condition to be constitutionally acted upon in 1886.

It can hardly be expected, then, admirable as the work is in its general features, that there will not be found here and there crudities which ought to be removed, obscure directions which ought to be made clear, and alterations proposed which, though acceptable in substance, might be improved in detail.

Must the Convention of 1886 take the work literally and exactly as it is now left, or will it have the power, within the general scope of the several alterations as now proposed, to make such modifications in them as more careful criticism and matured opinion shall show to be desirable, and then to adopt finally, and without further delay, the proposed changes as so perfected?

Being of the opinion that the next Convention will most certainly have that power, we submit some reasons for the opinion, and we trust they will commend themselves even to those who are most scrupulously loyal in their obedience to the restrictions of the Constitution.

The question is one of the proper construction of Article VIII of the Constitution, which, changing its negative and restrictive into the permissive form, will read substantially thus:

Alterations and additions may be made in the Book of Common Prayer, by proposing the same at one General Convention, making them known to the Conventions of the several Dioceses, and then adopting them at the succeeding General Convention.

What is here required, evidently, is full notice to the Church by making known the proposed changes, three years of deliberation upon them, and the substantial concurrence of two successive Conventions in the authorization of them.

The notice of the proposed alteration or addition must, of course, be such notice as will put the Church fully on guard, lead it to the expression of its matured will, and finally to the selection of deputies to the second Convention who will act in accordance with that will.

Our view, then, is, that the second Convention, composed

of deputies selected after such a notice with a view to action in reference to the constitutional changes proposed, has the power, in addition to its power of ordinary legislation, of a constitutional convention; that it may consult and deliberate, not only whether it will adopt or reject the proposed alterations, but whether it will modify and then adopt them; the limitation on its powers of modification being only that the proposition first submitted shall not be substantially changed.

The various additions and alterations which, by the action of the late Convention, have gone through the first process of being proposed, and are now to be made known to the Dioceses, will present, when they come to be maturely considered, many cases for the application, if it is sound, of the view we are advocating.

Take, for instance, the proposal to restore to the calendar the Feast of the Transfiguration, to be assigned to the 6th of August. The principal proposition in this addition to the Prayer Book is the proposition to restore the Feast. This was adopted with entire unanimity, and will, if one can judge by its hearty approval in the Convention, approve itself to all; but then comes the subordinate proposition to assign its observance to a certain date in the calendar. The Joint Committee reported in favor of the 18th of January, but the Convention substituted the 6th of August. Now, suppose that in the Convention of 1886 there should be the same unanimity as to the principal proposition to restore the feast, but that that Convention should conclude to go back to the date reported by the Committee, the 18th of January, would the whole proposition be lost, unless it was submitted again with the changed date, to be acted upon again in 1889?

We are fully convinced that this would be one of the minor features of the proposition as to which the Convention of 1886 would have the power of final action, the proposed addition to the calendar of festivals having been fairly submitted to the Church.

Another of the additions proposed will present the question in a still more important light.

The Burial Service of the Church touches the sympathies

of its members of all classes and conditions more universally probably than any other portion of the Prayer Book. The Joint Committee reported in favor of introducing into this beautiful service a few variations to make it more appropriate for the burial of very young children. They consist of six Sentences, a Psalm, a Lesson, being that appointed for the Epistle for Innocents' Day; a slight change in the Sentence of Committal, an Anthem, and several Prayers, all exceedingly beautiful and appropriate.

When they were under consideration, a motion was made to add another Lesson as an alternate to the one proposed by the report. This motion prevailed. Suppose, now, that, upon mature deliberation, this alternate Lesson shall not be approved, cannot the Convention of 1886 reject it without imperiling all the other changes—changes which are all involved in the proposal to make the Burial Service, by the insertion of several variations, more suitable to the case of young children?

Again, we say, that in our view the second Convention may reject this alternate Lesson, and adopt the other changes, and even modify these upon the principle that any amendment in detail, or any rejection of any of minor features, of a proposed alteration, which does not change its substantial character, is within the power of the second Convention to make.

One more illustration shall suffice. The Joint Committee recommended (Resolution V.) a Form of Prayer entitled "The Beatitudes of the Gospel," to be used as a part of the Evening Prayer, or as a separate office. There is some diversity of opinion as to the entire fitness of the Responses to be made by the people to the Beatitudes as rehearsed by the Minister. Surely, if the Convention of 1886 shall approve of this addition to the Prayer Book, but by some happy inspiration should hit upon a form of Response more generally acceptable than that now proposed, the office so modified could be finally adopted then, without waiting three years more for the action of the Convention of 1889. The rubric, too, at the head of this Office, read in connection with that after the Second Collect in the Evening Prayer, left it somewhat uncertain whether it was intended

that this office might be used on the Lord's Day in lieu of what follows that Collect. This uncertainty may have been already removed, but if not, the removal of it in 1886 should certainly not delay till 1889 the final adoption of the proposed Office.

It will be urged that this is a lax mode of dealing with constitutional restrictions. But there should be no question as between lax and strict modes of construction. The true question is, what is the reasonable construction of the restrictions under which the Church, fully represented in General Convention, and with its entire House of Bishops co-operating, may amend its Offices of worship. That reasonable construction is to be ascertained by a fair consideration of the purpose of the restrictions. That purpose simply is to guard against surprise, and to secure the deliberate and fully matured will of the Church.

We do not shut our eyes, however, to the fact that the stricter interpretation is the one which is generally held. This is probably due to the fact that the lay membership of the General Convention has always included many lawyers, some of them gentlemen of large experience in legislation, and that these have probably been influenced by the supposed analogy between the Constitution of the Church and that of the Federal and State governments. That there is no such analogy, in respect to the point now under consideration, we think a little examination will show.

Amendments to the Federal Constitution, for example, must be submitted to and ratified by Conventions or by the Legislatures in the several States, acting separately and independently. As their action is thus independent action, without conference or discussion, these bodies are necessarily confined to the simple adoption or rejection of the proposed amendment. There would be an analogy if the amendment, after being proposed by Congress to the several States, was then to be acted upon by a subsequent Congress, enlightened as to the wishes of the people of the States, by the criticism which the project had, in the meantime, undergone. The difference in the two modes of action overturns the assumed analogy.

So with amendments to the Constitutions of the sev-

eral States. These must ordinarily pass one or more sessions of the Legislature, and then be submitted to a popular vote. Of course, the vote at a popular election can only be upon a definite proposition, and can only be to adopt or reject.

Under the Constitution of the Church proposed amendments are to be made known indeed to the Conventions of the several Dioceses, but they are not to be passed upon there, nor to be voted upon, in any popular election, nor anywhere, except in General Convention. They are to be made known in order that the deputies to the next General Convention may be selected with a view to the action which at that convention will be taken upon them, but that action is to be a consultative, deliberative action, the action of intelligent representatives of their several dioceses meeting together in one body, and not the action of mere instruments to vote aye or no. Of course the Diocesan Conventions may instruct their deputies, but the deputies act on their own responsibility.

Judge Hoffman, treating of this subject, and of the authority of the General Convention, asks:

What restriction is there upon this authority? Merely the obligation to make the proposal known to the Diocesan Conventions. This may be for the purposes of consultation, of gathering views and information, of instructions to delegates. But it cannot rob the General Body of the ultimate and exclusive power of making or rejecting the change. (*Law of the Church*, p. 174.)

We have not been able to find in the practice of the Conventions any precedent bearing directly on the subject under discussion. The amendments to the Constitution since its original adoption in 1789, though some of them are important, are contained in a few paragraphs. The subjects of them were easily stated, nothing more being required than an accurate expression of the proposed change. There have been changes as to the times of meeting, as to the division of dioceses, and the like, but the entire amount of the changes which have been made in the Constitution during the almost one hundred years that it has been in force, is probably less than one-tenth of that which is involved

in the changes in the Prayer Book now under consideration.

And it is not inappropriate to consider in this connection that if it had been requisite that the alterations of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, which, being adopted by the Convention of 1789, made it the Book of the present day, should have gone through the ordeal now required for further changes, no one can say when the Church would have had a Book of Common Prayer. The Convention of 1789, however, completed the Prayer Book proper, making, *during the same Session which ratified it*, many important alterations which had never been submitted to the Dioceses for consideration, and during twenty-one years thereafter, the General Convention, in the exercise of its unrestricted powers, from time to time added the other matters which now make up the entire Book; the Ordinal in 1792, the Office for the Consecration of Churches in 1795, the Articles in 1801, and the Office of Induction in 1804, changed to that of Institution in 1808; and it was not until the Convention of 1811 that the clause was added to Article VIII of the Constitution which, from that time forward, secured the Book, which had just been completed against future alterations, except by the methods now under consideration.

We do not state these facts as furnishing any reason for making light of the restrictions which now protect the Prayer Book.

It is protected by what is stronger than constitutional safeguards. But it is the Church that has itself imposed the restrictions, the force of which is now being considered, and the same Church may be safely trusted to interpret the true meaning and intent of these restrictions. While, as already stated, we have found no precedent bearing directly upon the question before us, we do find, in a very able report of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, made in 1874, upon a proposal to sanction by Canon the use of shortened services (Journ. of 1874, pp. 115, 116), the following significant language:

By the present wise provision of the Constitution, no alteration can be

made in the Prayer Book, unless the desired changes in *all essential details*, have been proposed in one General Convention, made known, etc.

We do not feel at liberty to hang too large a conclusion upon these qualifying words, "in all essential details," but they express the view for which we are contending, and we cannot believe, if we have a right to assume from the signature of the report that it is from the pen of that able and experienced Canonist, the Rev. Dr. Hall, clerical deputy from Long Island, that they were inserted without a due sense of their importance.

But it will naturally be asked: Who is to judge whether a variation from the language of the alteration as made known by the action of the primary Convention, is essential or not, if the proposition, just as submitted, is once departed from? The change of a word, yes, even of a letter, may involve a change in the Faith itself. The only answer is, that the General Convention must be trusted. In ordinary legislative action, it is the constant duty of the presiding officer to rule upon amendments proposed to pending propositions, whether they are or not foreign to the general subject, and so this has become a familiar question.

In the judicial departments, too, of both the State and Federal Governments, judges are constantly called upon to construe the limitations and restrictions of the Constitutions under which they themselves hold office. Such restrictions must not be made more important than the Constitution itself and be so interpreted as absolutely to tie up all action. And why should not the Church, as represented in General Convention, in 1886, be as competent to determine whether an amendment to a proposition is, in fact, an amendment only in matter of detail, and not a substantial change, as that of 1889, to adopt or reject the entire proposition? The real question should be: Would the Church at large have a fair right to complain of the action of its Convention in 1886, as a *surprise*, if that Convention should adopt the alterations which have been proposed, with modifications in minor matters not affecting the substance of the proposal?

There can hardly be a doubt that any attempt made, un-

der color of an amendment, to introduce any substantial deviation from the proposition submitted by the primary Convention, would meet with prompt defeat. The spirit of loyalty to the Constitution which is profound, the conservatism of the General Convention, the prudence of the House of Bishops, furnish safeguards that need no strengthening where the Church is acting after a three years' consideration of a proposed change. It is hardly supposable that such a stable body could be carried away by a wave of popular feeling, even where action can be initiated and completed at any one session; but in respect to changes like those now contemplated, the peril is so remote as hardly to need consideration.

But we do not forget that there is, with many who have been prominent in the councils of the Church, a conscience in this matter, which cannot be satisfied; a conscience which urges that it is better to submit to any inconveniences and delays, rather than even to appear to transgress the limitations which are imposed upon our powers.

A valuable historical precedent may serve to satisfy these scruples, while opening the way to a settlement, for the present, of the entire question of Prayer Book revision. When the fate of the Constitution which was finally adopted in 1789 was still uncertain, a resolution of one of the voluntary assemblies, which, in 1776, had the matter under discussion, was adopted, in the following words:

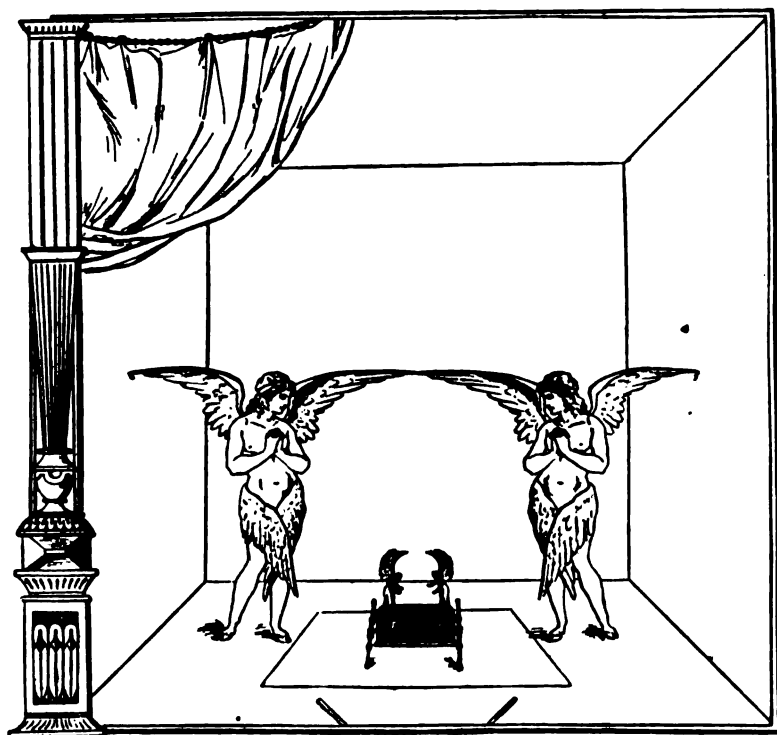
That the several State Conventions do authorize and empower the deputies to the next General Convention, after we shall have obtained a Bishop or Bishops in our Church, to confirm and ratify a General Constitution, respecting both the doctrine and the discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Convention of 1789 has always been considered to have had, under this resolution, the powers of a Constitutional Convention. Nearly a century has elapsed. The Church is anxious for an expansion of its liturgy. Additions to it have been proposed which await final action. Might not every Diocesan Convention, by formal resolution, empower its deputies to the General Convention of 1886, in considering the proposed changes, to adopt such of them as they shall approve, with such modifications in non-essen-

tials as shall, upon due consideration, seem expedient? We can anticipate objections to this course. We do not stop now to consider them. The motive which has led to this paper is the strong desire that, if the work of the able Committee which has reported the proposed alterations to the Prayer Book shall meet the general approval of the Church, it shall not fail by reason of being caught in a thicket of comparatively unimportant changes; and also the feeling that while changes in the services of the Church should be warily and with full deliberation considered it is important also that a final result should be achieved as soon as practicable. Though the desire to revise the Prayer Book which is now manifest is due, as we believe, to a widening and deepening of the devotional feeling of those who most faithfully use its Offices, there may be peril in keeping alive longer than is needful the examination of liturgical work in a merely critical spirit, a spirit likely to engender restlessness and love for variety. Certainly any spirit of this kind should be set at rest as speedily as possible.

That the Convention of 1886 may be at liberty to exercise the power of removing all blemishes and imperfections from the work with which it will be called upon to deal, to add, perhaps, here and there, a touch to the picture which has been presented, and to send forth as its final action a *completed* Book, adorned with many of the beautiful additions which have been submitted for consideration, is, we are confident, the hope of the expectant Church.

S. P. NASH.



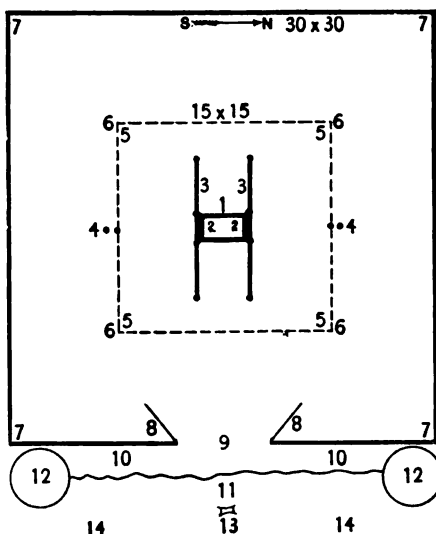
Outline of the Holy of Holies

sanctum sanctorum

FLOOR PLAN OF THE HOLY OF HOLIES IN SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

Reduced from a scale of 1-12 the original dimensions.

1. The Ark of the Covenant.
- 2-2. Feet of the Cherubim on the Mercy Seat.
- 3-3. The Staves or Bars.
- 4-4. The feet of the great Cherubim.
- 5-5. Space of the "Oracle," proper.
- 6-6. Ideal chains of "partition," gold.
- 7-7. Outline of the Holy of Holies or Oracle generally.
- 8-8. Doors of Entry.
9. Doorway, "1-5 the wall."
- 10-10. Space or passage.
11. Outline of the "Vail."
- 12-12. Pillars from which suspended.
13. Position of the Golden Altar of Incense.
- 14-14. The Holy Place.



THE ARK OF THE COVENANT.

STUDY OF A MODEL.

And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord unto his place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims.

For the cherubims spread forth their two wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark and the staves thereof above.

And they drew out the staves, that the ends thereof were seen out in the holy place before the oracle, and they were not seen without: and there they are unto this day. *1Kings, viii. 6, 7, 8.*

And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord into his place, to the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubims.

For the cherubims spread forth their wings over the place of the ark, and the cherubims covered the ark and the staves thereof.

And they drew out the staves of the ark, that the ends of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle; but they were not seen without. And there they are unto this day. *2 Chron., v. 7, 8, 9.*

The Profound and varied character of the Sacred Scriptures demands, in the study of them, the application of every faculty of the human understanding, to penetrate their meaning even to a comparatively limited degree. The various languages into which they have been translated, as well as the ancient and original ones in which they were first written, not only tax the most searching intellects in their literary pursuit of a true meaning, but in certain cases, call into active exercise the most exalted and chastened ideality, and the power of constructiveness.

All that pertains to the revealed means by which the first true idea of obligation and of acceptable public worship to Jehovah were manifested, involves peculiarly these two attributes of the human mind.

The whole lesson of The Tabernacle, uttered by the voice of The Eternal One—touching as it did insensate objects, to give expression to spiritual gifts, desires and necessities—is marked by a constant reference to, not only what was so

definitely set forth, and actually "patterned in the Heavens," but also to that unerring connection between the seen and unseen, which so harmoniously blends the spiritual and the material as to be seized by both the intellect and the spirit of man. Of all the features of the Tabernacle, two stand out distinctly, and prominently so, above all the others, though inseparately united to each and all the rest. These are, on the one hand, the Atonement, and on the other, the transcendent Holiness of Jehovah. "The Covenant" was but the preparatory step by which a fallen race might ascend to a new and a higher life. Its preservation was imperative, not only by obedience, and therefore transmissive from generation to generation, but by guarded and inviolable seclusion, as a reality, and a memorial witness—in stone—engraved by the finger of God. Israel was, therefore, for nearly forty years, at least, led by the law applied to their daily lives, and saw it borne before them in the sacred treasury of The Ark of the Covenant, dominating not only a prescribed ritual, but every movement of their vast multitudes, accompanied with such marks of awful grandeur as to startle the idolatrous nations through which they wandered. It so continued to dominate all the religious services of the Israelites for centuries, finally inaugurating them in the Temple, when it had found a sanctuary within it. So considered, by the devout inquirer, this object becomes clothed with no ordinary interest, and to arrive at an appreciation of its appearance and meaning, no translation alone can convey an adequate definition of it. A reproduction of its form, adapted with reasonableness to all the uses to which it was placed, and all the positions it occupied when serving its Divine originator, can only satisfy such a learner.

So exact are the measurements set forth in the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus, that the materials can be put into shape, and so clear are the evidences in other particulars that occur in the Scriptures, extending over a period of rather more than five hundred years after its construction, that a conclusion materially accurate can be pointed out.

The prerequisite of all approach to the Holy One, and participation in His service, has been eternally, immutably

fixed—obedience, or its alternative, repentance, faith, and atonement.

By transgression man needed something to bring him back; rebind him anew, by bands, as it were. Hence, religion,—in the ten words—the law, paramount over all, was first given to Moses, following which, the system, orders, symbols and ritual, “once delivered,” practical, indeed, in that age, and yet indelibly stamped with a character and significance, and steeped with an unalterable essence of what should be developed as the true spiritual worship of mankind in the ages to come. This law made palpable, perceptible, to imperfect but sentient beings, may be regarded as the germ and centre, around which Divine wisdom gathered accretions of ceremony and sanctified rites, which by operation in the human heart, might bring forth repeating growth of fruit and seed. Two remarkable features mark this *law*. It contained a code of perfect moral government and a perfect language, there being in the original Ten Words, practically, *every letter of the ancient Hebrew language*.*

Such a treasure and its security is first provided for.

Of all the appurtenances attending revealed worship, the Ark of the Covenant, the most sacred, was first mentioned

* Twenty-one of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet are found in the ‘Law.’ The first Commandment contains one-half of the whole, while the second Commandment has nineteen of the twenty-two letters. It is remarkable that the *first four* Commandments, which are the ones relating to *God Himself*, contain the entire alphabet except the *one* missing letter, which appears nowhere in the Decalogue. Now this missing letter corresponds to our letter T. In the Hebrew there are two K’s and two T’s. One form of these T’s *does appear* many times in the Commandments, and practically supplies the place of the other form of T. It is therefore fair to say that the whole alphabet is contained in the Commandments, and actually in the first four of them.

In the early Greek translation known as the Septuagint the first four Commandments contain the *entire Greek* alphabet; again, in the *Vulgate*, these four Commandments contain the *entire Latin* alphabet (except K, which is really the same as C). The Divine Law comprehends *all* the letters which are the symbols of all human thought, in various combinations.

The Title on the Cross, of the Universal Savior, was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, seeming to indicate that these three languages comprehended ALL human speech. The number *Ten* is the symbol of completeness.

and first shown to the eyes of Moses in "patterns" of the utmost particularity.

The two materials of which it was to be made were gold, the most precious of metals, and wood—Shittim wood, at once the most lasting, like sin, which it further well symbolized in its almost black color, devoid of any inherent property or suggestion of light. All this, however, was *covered*; and though the only foundation in the superstructure, was always completely covered, not one spot of the wood ever showing within any part of the Tabernacle or upon the "Ark."

With a certainty as to so many and explicit details of other particulars, still one is left in some doubt as to the *arrangement* of some of its more important parts, inasmuch as any misunderstanding impairs the symbolism and its apparent character; so, to attain symmetry and completeness, both the original description in its minutest particulars must be considered, and the "Ark" itself as a whole must be followed through the centuries wherein it was used and understood, even to its final and only real resting place in Solomon's Temple, before a painstaking restorer can exhaust or appropriate all that is required to reach a reasonable or satisfactory conclusion.

The approximate dimensions in modern measurement will give the exact proportions. It was of oblong square shape, of wood, covered with pure gold* both on the inner and outer surfaces, two cubits and a half in length, one cubit and a half in height, and a cubit and a half in width. Fixing, for convenience, the cubit at one foot six inches, we secure perfect accuracy of proportion, even if the dimensions might vary with whatever standard of cubit should be used.

By this is produced, as it were, a chest, three feet nine inches long, two feet three inches high, and two feet three inches wide. A cover † of corresponding length and width, of a thickness not mentioned, but made of a solid plate of gold, and which was movable, called "The Mercy Seat,"

* Ex. xxv. 11.

† Ex. xxv. 17.

rested upon its top. Upon the edges of this was placed a crown,* or rim of ornamental pattern enclosing its border.

Within the line of this, at each end, and upon the Mercy Seat, stood two Cherubim, beaten *out of it* by cunning workmanship, in solid gold, comprising really one piece † of incorporated finished design.

Thus, upon their feet, ‡ with their wings stretched forth on high, covering the Mercy Seat, their faces looking toward each other, but downward upon it, they constituted the unchangeable witnesses of the holiest place, containing the covenant.

What was the size and appearance of these unearthly beings was only known to Moses, who had seen such, or patterns of such, in the Mount, and to Bezaleel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur of the tribe of Judah, "named" as filled with the spirit of God, and made thereby capable of producing them, and of superintending all that class of work in the Tabernacle. It has been held by some writers that these cherubim were modelled from existing similarities used by the Egyptians in idolatrous worship, but in the absence of any such allusion, the Divine source of the designs given, leaves no room to doubt that everything named was original—for holy use. It has been left to the devout conception and imagination of the different ages to delineate them as they would, and yet it is perhaps safe to state that no instance in history is mentioned of either nation or sect, or indeed of individual, having ever worshipped these. Men, angels, false deities, stocks and stones, have in turn tempted to idolatrous worship, still these incomprehensible creatures, by a sovereignty opposed to human reasoning, in the light of the expressed words of the Decalogue, have been shielded from human adoration.

Upon this Ark four Rings of gold were ordered to be placed in the four corners, and staves—two staves—of wood, overlaid with gold, "that the Ark may be borne by them," but not to be taken from it. ||

* Ex. xxxvii. 2.

§ Ex. xxx. i. 2.

† Ex. xxxvii. 7.

| Ex. xxv. 15.

‡ Gen. xxxvii. 1—9.

Within this Ark was to be placed "the Testimony which I shall give thee."*

To this point a generally full description is given in the record, but difficulties here arise respecting what might seem trivial matters, were it not that they are very material to one endeavoring to offer a *fac simile* to the sight, in addition to description offered only to the mind, in the text.

The query is as to the length, strength and *position* of the staves, or bars, of which nothing is directly stated, but upon which so much depends, being in fact the only parts of contact possible by which the Ark could be first lifted, ever afterward conveyed, and of which the very last mention is made,† when the Ark was dismantled of them, and finally ceased its wanderings and journeyings within the "oracle."

As it was specifically commanded that the Ark should only be borne on the shoulders of men, specially appointed,‡ and stated, that death should be the penalty for even touching it while moving,§ sufficient length to prevent falling upon it, by accident, or carelessness, while on the march was to be provided for.

Sufficient strength to bear the weight, and yet not mar the beautiful proportions, and in no way to obstruct unduly its appointed place where it was to dwell, enter into its construction.¶ Its weight, judging from the materials used, the coverings employed and so particularized (even to their colors)¶ would seem to make it an easy burden on the shoulders of four men in the prime of strong manhood, selected as they were, from one tribe,** none less than thirty nor more than fifty years of age.††

For the staves, a length of nine to ten feet, would be ample, and in symmetrical proportion, and as they were not to be taken from the ark, would not interfere with the central space it was first intended to occupy in the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, a room fifteen feet square upon the

* Ex. xxv. 16. † 2 Chro. v. 9. ‡ Numb. vii: 9. § 2 Numb. iv: 15.

¶ Ex. xl: 2, 8. 1 Kings viii: 6, 7, 8. 2 Chron. v: 8, 9. ¶ Numb. iv: 5, 6.

** Numb. iii: 31.

†† Numb. iv: 8.

ground, which was then its only floor. That it thus occupied this exact centre, will be more fully understood by the arrangements indicated, in the corresponding situation finally provided in the Temple, which will be noticed hereafter. Thus situated, in both, it formed a shrine where Jehovah deigned to dwell, ever between the unchangeable cherubim, as well symbols of the Lord's presence, as witnesses of the secreted tables of the law beneath them. The character of these surroundings, as well as orderly fitness, allows no other position of the ark than its length placed *across* the holiest place, thereby presenting always the Cherubim sideways, as seen when entering from the Holy place or first division of the Tabernacle, and in an attitude of equal inquiry and reverence, toward the holy central light,—not obscuring it, as would be the case if the Ark was turned round at an opposite angle.

So placed, the question follows, were the "staves" fixed lengthwise, or *across the ends* of the Ark?

In no sense was this Ark a mere article of furniture, but more properly it was a *furnishment*, to a sanctuary and in itself sacred, on which a manifest glory descended even within the thick darkness, of this windowless and otherwise unlighted seclusion,—above which, while at rest, ever poised the pillar of alternate cloud and fire, enshrining the Angel of the Lord. It directed all its marching and movements, fixing the period of its stay, whether for *two days* or a month, or a year.* In addition to the sanctity attached to the other furnishings of "Jehovah's House," the Ark held especial relations to the Divine presence. Whatever may have been uncertain or fickle, forgotten or disregarded in the Jewish ritual, the Ark, the Cherubim, and the everpresent Shechinah, remained perpetual evidences in material form. At the withdrawal of the cloudy and fiery pillar, and, simultaneously, the Shechinah, Aaron, the High Priest, who under no other circumstances (except on the great day of atonement), was allowed even to enter within the vail, now, with his sons could approach it, put on the designated coverings but not touch it to *bear* it.

* Numb. ix: 22.

That was the office of the sons of Kohath, who, coming within, bore it away upon their shoulders, leading the mighty hosts of Israel, but preserving the same *position* which it occupied in the Holy of Holies. That this might be possible, the staves were first inserted in the four Rings, upon the corners and *across* the ends of the ark. Therefore, ever afterward, when carried, it moved on with a swaying, living motion, the Cherubim dimly outlined in the precious burthen, still bending toward the Mercy Seat, leaving behind them an invisible but real pathway—*hallowing every foot-step*, in which followed God's chosen people.

At times it went before*, at times it was the centre of that marvellous army of six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty, laymen—young fighting men, all twenty or more years of age, not one feeble one among them, the flower of all Israel,—like the Church militant, permitted to guard that which was already protected by Divine presence and power. The *position* which the *Tabernacle*, also maintained upon the ground (it had no floor) was never changed, and was no device of man. *That* was prescribed by Jehovah. Its front, or entrance, was always toward the East†. [Note—It will be seen by these references that three of them fix the North, South, and West, of the tabernacle, and without *mention* leaves the East fixed. Ex. xxxviii. 13 fixes the east gate of the "court," in a direct line from the "sanctuary." Num. ii. 3 fixes the leading position of the tribe of Judah, as leaders, and always East, and Gen. xlix. 10 foretells the leadership and kingly right of Judah. It is to be noted here that a prevailing erroneous notion is almost universal, regarding the "East," as being the locality of peculiar reverence to be *occupied*; hence churches, lodges and other places have been located with reference to securing for the "East," the altar, seat, or other distinction of honor, whereas the holiest spot in the tabernacle, and in the temple, was itself *located* immovably

* Num. x. 83.

† Ex. xxvi. 20; Ex. xl. 22, 24; Ex. xxvi. 18; Num. ii. 8; [Ex. xxxviii. 18; Gen. xlix. 10.

in the West, everything therein facing *toward* the open entrance, Eastward.]

It offered, figuratively, a *refuge*, opening eastward toward the Garden in Eden, the origin of man's sin, presenting to the fleeing, homeless progeny of Adam, now multiplied as it had become, in Israel, a Sanctuary prepared with sacrificial Altar of burnt offering, its Laver for purifyings, altar of incense and prayer, and in the deepest recesses beyond, the Cherubim,—but now no flaming sword to confront them—only a Holy Light,—displaying a Presence at the Mercy Seat; and offering Atonement and satisfaction. Surrounded with such remarkable accessories, and such significance, all of which were to be retained and transferred with the Ark to the *Temple*, further and clearer light must be obtained from a study of that edifice. While King Solomon was, by God, appointed* to build “His House,” and endowed with wisdom to execute the work, he was entirely guided by explicit directions previously given to his father David,† through direct revelation, even to dimensions, weights and patterns, all agreeing in purport with that revealed to Moses regarding the Tabernacle and its services, and to be preserved in the permanent Temple, with supreme sacredness, especially in the Holy of Holies, therein. Therefore the most careful attention was bestowed upon that special place, so that when at last the Ark of the Covenant should be conveyed to it, all would be found to coincide with that consummation, and thus a room was prepared, *thirty* feet in length, width and height, to hold the same relation to *it*, as originally did the “former House,” but now of solid masonry, wood and gold, and as is shown, of twice the dimensions of its prototype, and like it, windowless,‡ unlighted from without, but now floored with choice woods overlaid with gold, as were all the sides and ceiling, and further adorned with exquisite carvings of cherubic figures, palms, and open flowers. Within, only appeared two immovable Cherubim,§ of olive wood, ten cubits, or fifteen feet in stature, exactly one-half the height of the room to the ceiling plates and

*1 Chron. xxii. 6, 16.

†1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19.

‡2 Chron. vi. 1.

§1 Kings vi. 23–29.

covered with gold. These were immovably fixed, covering between their feet a point on each side, seven feet six inches from each of the four walls, and between their bodies of fifteen feet space. Each had at least two wings capable of representing movements, and which were spread arching horizontally* entirely across the space within. One wing of each Cherubim touched opposite side of the walls, and one wing of each overspread, in the same line of direction, the middle point of the floor, and touched each other on high, at a point exactly the *centre of the space from every direction*. They were erect, fronting toward the entrance door which led from the Holy Place, their faces turned inward, toward each other, and looking down upon a central space as yet unoccupied. So much was done for providing within the holiest of all Holy places, a still more unapproachable spot, to be covered by the Ark and Testimony of God, whereon the Shechinah had shone and would continue to appear.

This holiest of places is called the "Oracle," and while the term is used interchangeably in writing, it conveys to the close observer, a deeper meaning than expressed as applied to the designation of the room generally, directing the mind to a *very sacred area*, between the fixed Cherubim.

Is it a mere *coincidence*, that the vacant space between the large cherubim was exactly a *cube*, of the precise dimensions of the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle? 15 x 15 x 15 feet or 10 x 10 x 10 cubits? 1 Kings vi. 27—"and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the 'Oracle,'" would indicate that this square space in the center of the *floor* was really marked by a line of gold chains, and in that case, perhaps, supported at the corners. Looking at the model, and taking the measurements, confirms that impression: and with everything constructed as stated, every part of the staves and of the "Ark" fall within these lines, and necessarily, nothing, either the Cherubim, nor the entrance doors, intrudes in any way upon them.

At the dedication of the Temple, together with all the Holy vessels of the Tabernacle, was brought up the Ark of the Covenant, (with a pageantry never surpassed), from the

*2 Chron. iii. 11-18.

City of David, and it would seem, now, carried by the *Priests* uncovered, in the sight of the vast assemblage met to witness the ceremonies or following across the Tyropean bridge in exulting procession.

[NOTE—(B. C. 1004). "This (Tyropean) bridge at the Southwest corner of the enclosure, is built across the bed of the Tyropean valley." "A Hand Book of the Bible, F. R. & C. R. Conder R. E."—(J. C. 88, restored by Herod)—"Far the most magnificent avenue was at the Southwest angle of the Temple. It would be difficult to exaggerate the splendor of this approach. A colossal bridge spanned the intervening valley of the Tyropean, connecting the summit of the City of David with what was called the Royal Porch—cloisters—of the Temple. From its ruins we can construct this bridge. Each arch spanned forty-one and a half feet, and the spring stones were twenty-four feet in length by six feet in thickness, spanning the valley at a height of *two hundred and twenty-five feet*, with a roadway, which spanned this cleft for a distance of three hundred and fifty-four feet from Mount Moriah to Mount Zion—fifty feet broad, and five feet wider than the central avenue of the Royal Temple Porch into which it led." See "*The Temple and its Services*," Dr. Eidersheim."]

Before it, on its passage thither, were sacrifices of sheep and oxen which could not be numbered for multitude. As stated in the texts already quoted, the *Priests*, continuing their triumphal march, passing through and up successive courts, "brought the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord *into* His place, into the *oracle* of the house, to the most holy place—even under the wings of the Cherubim"—already standing there.

From the fact that the main entrance to the "House of the Lord" was but (see further on for particular explanation) seven feet six inches square (one-fourth part of the wall*) and the entrance through the doorway beyond into the Holy of Holies, was but six feet square, (one-fifth of the wall†) which wall was permanent, and behind the *Vail*, (both dividing the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place) the Ark *must* have been borne, not on that occasion on the shoulders of men, but in the *hands* of the priests; there being but just room enough to carry it through the doorway. The *Priests* passing under the uplifted vail, through the "two doors of olive wood, into the 'Oracle,' but dimly

* 1 Kings, vi. 31;

† 1 Kings vi. 33.

lighted by streaming rays from the ten glittering golden candlesticks, behind them in the Holy Place through which they had just passed, following the narrow path of light converging directly upon the center of the 'Oracle,' they set down the Ark, covering the *central spot* on the golden floor, so that the great Cherubim with their outspread wings covered the original Cherubim standing on the Mercy Seat of the Ark—and at the same time "the staves thereof above." Josephus (*Ant.* Book 8 c. v., sec. 1.) says, "and only those priests that carried it, set it between the two Cherubim which, embracing it with their wings, (for so they were framed by the artificer) they covered it as under a tent or canopy." The model confirms this statement, but discloses as a fact, that the arching two wings convexing to the rear, formed one-half of a resemblance to "a canopy," and the other two, spreading out to each wall, the other one half, as if purposely opened to *display* what was therein.

This would seem reliable ocular evidence, as to the position of the bars, for in no other attitude could the two heroic Cherubim have at the same time, from their fixedness, covered the Cherubim, the Ark, *and the two staves*, thereof. The full duty of the priest was now ended. The Ark, having finished all its journeyings and wanderings at last *rested*. To emphasize this fact, the priests drew out the staves thereof, so that the ends thereof, (the four ends) were seen out in the holy place [space] before the oracle—[by standing in front of it] and were not seen without, (or otherwise), "and there they are unto this day." No doubt they were so far withdrawn as to render it impossible to again lift the ark thereby; so far released, from each of the two Rings on the *rear* corners of the Ark, as, with one end of each resting on the sacred floor, they allowed all the ends to be seen from before the Ark. An express Divine command had been given, Ex. xxv. 15, "The staves shall be in the rings of the Ark, they shall not be taken from *it*," and this was still *literally obeyed*. Thus no change or displacement might occur (and which never did occur to the time of the record) as would have been likely, had they been *altogether* drawn out and laid upon the floor. "That

the ends were seen out in the Holy Place before the oracle" has been made by commentators, to mean protruding upon "The Vail," so that these points could be distinguished *through it*, out in the Holy place, or larger front compartment of the House of God.

This misapprehension, like others, arises from entire reliance on the *language* translated, in the absence of a visible reproduction, by a model, made to a scale measurement, which at once dissipates such a possibility, as will be further shown, by the construction and dimensions of the "House."

As before stated, the Holy of Holies was a room twenty cubits square,—thirty feet square upon the floor. "The Ark," as has been shown, was deposited in the exact *centre of this space*. Messrs. Conder, Royal Engineers, (in "a Handbook to the Bible, page 364") having made recent extensive explorations and surveys, say: "It appears to be certain that the site occupied by Solomon's Temple and Altar, was the same as that occupied by the Holy House and Altar in the times of Zerubbabel and of Herod. Josephus states that Zerubbabel built the Altar 'on the same place where it had formerly been built' (2 *Ant.* iv. 1); and, 'it is a constant tradition' says Maimonides, 'that the place in which David and Solomon built the Altar in the threshing floor of Araunah is the place in which Abraham built an altar and bound Isaac upon it.'" "With regard to the exact spot, we have several indications of sufficiently definite character." Page 365—"It appears thus clear that Sakhras represents the *Eben Shatiyeh* or 'stone of foundation,' which existed in the Holy of Holies (Yoma v. 2.) On that stone the "Ark" stood, and it was supposed to be the original foundation of the world. The Talmudic commentaries make it clear that the Eben Shatiyeh was a rock, rather than a stone, (like the Eben Zohelath, which is also a rock now called Zahweileh."

"The position then of the Holy House, according to the Mishna, to Josephus, and to the Bible, (Ezek. xlii. 12,) was on the 'top of the mountain;' and the mention of the 'Stone of Foundation' in the Mishna (Yoma, v. 2) as projecting three fingers breadth from the floor of the Holy of Holies,

gives us a valuable datum 2,440 feet above the sea, to which to refer the levels of the courts."

Placed upon or over *this*, the Ark occupied a distance of one foot one and a half inches each side of the given point, by its width. (Observe, we are now measuring the distance *toward* the Vail). The staves at the longest, were probably not over ten feet in length. If drawn entirely out (adding the one foot one and a half inches, the half width of the Ark from the centre) they would have occupied exactly eleven feet one and a half inches in front of the "Ark," and have rested three feet ten and a half inches from any possible point at which the Vail could have been suspended. As they were evidently foreshortened by being left in the front rings, the space in front was doubtless *four or more feet*. A careful study of 1st Kings, vi. 3, 4 (and of a *model of the Holy of Holies*,) discovers that a permanent wall or partition divided the Holy of Holies from the Holy Place, through which wall was a doorway in the middle, taking up "one-fifth" of the wall, which would be six feet by six feet.* To this were fitted "two olive wood doors" of fine work, carved, and covered with gold, each door about three feet wide, and six feet high, opening *inwards* toward the Mercy Seat, thus leaving more than space enough for them to swing round upon the floor, without coming too near or touching the staves, which we are informed, were never moved—(lawfully). These doors could not have swung outwardly *towards the Vail*, as its position was immediately in front of this dividing wall, as the measurements of both rooms will show,—hung upon chains fastened to "two great pillars" (1 Kings, vi. 31, 32), the diameters of which furnished a narrow passage behind the Vail, along which the High Priest crept, till reaching the door of the Holy of

*The plan of the Temple—(Herod's)—given by the Mishna, notes "an interval of one cubit, (say from 16 to 22 inches), between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. In Herod's Temple this space was occupied by *two* vails, or a double vail, forming an entrance to the Holy of Holies, for the high Priest." All this rather confirms the probability that in *Solomon's* Temple, a wall, and the doors to the oracle mentioned, existed behind the one Vail at that time, and occupied "the Teraklin"—or *interval*, as called in the Middoth, (iv. 7), "respecting the restoration by Herod." (Handbook to the Bible, 332-334.)

Holies, when necessary to enter it. (The Tabernacle had four large pillars in a similar position, with no wall behind them, resting on silver sockets, on which was suspended the original Vail on hooks of gold). There were two large pillars coequally mentioned, 2 Chron. iii. 15, 16, placed at the Eastern entrance of the Holy Place, and beyond it outside. It is mentioned by historians that in addition to the two doors in the inner wall, and in addition to the two larger doors at the main entrance, each of which also folded in two leaves and opened inward, a vail or curtain covered each opening.

Although little is said of the great Vail (2 Chron. iii. 14), of its existence in the Tabernacle, Solomon's Temple, and Herod's, there is no doubt; all other mention of vails seems to refer to curtains for subordinated uses.

After various vicissitudes through which the Ark passed, what became of it is not now known. It did not appear in Herod's Temple, nor have we any account that the large Cherubim were either preserved or ever placed there. At the period of the Crucifixion only a square stone marked the holiest place,—*the Rock*.

It may be, as Jewish tradition has it, that ever since the Babylonish captivity, the "Ark of the Covenant" lies buried and concealed underneath the wood-court at the Northeast angle of the Court of the Women.

Of the existence of many vaults beneath, there is ample recent evidence. In these have been discovered relics, and a majority of those known to remain have not yet been explored. Lieutenant Conder, R. E., mentions, "the vaults within the walls are of great interest. *Thirty-five* of them have been examined and the majority of them appear to be very ancient." What may yet be brought to light?—Rev. Dr. Edersheim, (*The Temple*, &c. 37,) writes: "It may be, that some at least of the spoils which Titus carried with him from Jerusalem—the seven branched candlestick, the table of shew-bread, the priest's trumpets, and the identical golden mitre which Aaron had worn on his forehead,—are hidden somewhere in the vaults beneath the site of the Temple, after having successively gone to Rome, to Carthage, to Byzantium, to Ravenna, and thence back to Jerusalem!"

In contemplating this subject, and tempted at every step out into so much which is closely related to the single line of pursuit, what but the most reverent thoughts crowd in upon the mind,—brought through such an array of splendor, and associations of the most sacred character, down to this spot, now bare of any vestige of the former glory, but glorious still, in the memories which enshrine it, robed with the grandeur of prophetic mention, and giving, as it does, a living meaning to the words of Isaiah (Is. xxviii. 16.

Therefore thus saith the Lord God, behold I lay in *Zion*, for a FOUNDATION A STONE, a tried *Stone*, a precious CORNER STONE, a safe FOUNDATION, he that beleiveth shall not make haste.

And this *stone* as a reality, as has been mentioned, to-day lies under the “line and plummet” of science, from which is traced back, terrace and court, and wall, to corroborate, step by step, all written in the Scriptures. And as it now raises its uncovered head, above all the accumulated ruins of the other parts of the “City of the Great King,” may it not be the “stone cut out of the mountain without hands” which shall, in the manner foretold, “fill the whole earth?” for, when at the awful hour of the Crucifixion, at the last cry, “It is finished,”—when the Vail of the Temple was rent from the top to the bottom,—dismantled of the Holy Light, of the great golden Cherubim, of the Ark of the Covenant; within, there appeared *through the riven Vail* only that one, square stone, then resting on this “Foundation Stone,” rejected indeed of the builders!—disallowed indeed of men.

CARLOS A. BUTLER.

WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM.

IT is a rare thing in the world to meet with a perfectly frank, guileless, unselfish nature: a still rarer thing it is, to find one who, after setting out well, has preserved the moral integrity of his character spotless, to the end. The name of William Rollinson Whittingham is a name of which the American Church may well be proud. It is a name which will be respected and honored, so long as regard for good men shall last. The son of a mother, according to her own account, converted "by a singular providence from a state of complete worldliness," he was, like Samuel and S. John the Baptist, sanctified from the womb. His was the high privilege to have for a mother one in whom not only was the maternal instinct strong, and the intellectual powers well developed, and the will firm and resolute, but added to these gifts of nature there was a deeply earnest, religious life. The young mother looked upon her first born as indeed a gift of God; and in a spirit of gratitude for the change of heart which had turned her away from the world and its vanities, she gave the gift back to the Giver. She would entrust to no hired nurse the child consecrated to God. Her own arms carried him. Her own breasts fed him. When reason began to dawn, she cultivated her own mind that she might become his teacher. Mother and child literally mastered together the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. There never was a time when the thought of his consecration to the Sacred Ministry did not tone and shape and fashion the life of the growing boy. It is like the story of Monica and Augustine, differing however in the fact, that as the boy was never permitted to leave the shelter of the paternal roof, so he never fell from grace, but from the first was preserved pure from the contamination of a sinful world. It is a notable picture, the devotion of the mother and the child, and suggests a deep moral. No hired nurse! The mother herself the teacher and

the guide! The sense of responsibility and duty, and the grateful love! And the reward, a pure, guileless, innocent and unspotted boy, a lover of all things good and fair, fond of nature, with an intellect unclouded, and an imagination undefiled! Is it to be wondered at, that a boy so trained should grow up into a man of singular earnestness of life, unworldly, unselfish, generous in his impulses, with a heart as tender as a woman's, while in moral heroism he was as bold as a lion, burning with zeal for Christ and His Church, his single eye intent upon one thing, and upon one thing only, his Master and his Master's service?

It needs no great amount of faith to believe, that a life whose beginnings were of the kind indicated was from the first the subject of God's peculiar care. If *Æschylus*, when speaking of Helen and the fall of Troy, could say that "a providence rules in the gift of a name," may we not believe that it was by no mere chance, as men count chance, that the child consecrated to God at his birth, nurtured with so much care in view of his sacred calling, found a place prepared to receive him, when he was ready to enter upon the work of preparation for the holy ministry. If the young Samuel, when faith was dead in Israel, revived it, and was instrumental in building up the schools of the prophets, where the youth were educated who shaped the fortunes of new national development under David and Solomon, are we to regard it as accidental, that the first impulse given to sound theological learning in America was the work of the boy (he was then less than seventeen years of age) who when asked by his examiners, amazed as they were at his ready answers, "At what college were you educated?" replied, "None; my mother has always taught me?" And when further asked in a spirit of credulity, "But who was your tutor in the languages, Latin and Greek and Hebrew?" proudly answered, drawing himself up to his full height, "My mother!" It is worth while in passing to think for a moment on the picture of the candidate for Orders as drawn for us by his biographer* at this time :

* Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, Fourth Bishop of Maryland. By William Francis Brand, New York: E. & L. Young & Co., 1883.

When full-grown he measured six feet two inches; at the time of his entrance at the Seminary he was nearly six feet high, and his limbs seemed longer than they were; his face was thin, his features prominent, and his lips—had they been made of clay—too heavy. But lack of beauty of outline was redeemed by a mobile expression, and by eyes dark and brilliant, flashing at times with a peculiar expression, due, as an artist remarked, to the fact that the pupil was slightly above the centre of the iris. His hair, black and beautifully fine, thrown back from his forehead, fell in curls over his shoulders. 'So,' we are told, 'he wore his hair until after his Consecration, when a barber ruthlessly sheared his locks. 'It hurt me,' said the Bishop, 'to part with my long hair, but I thought the man knew better than I did what was becoming to a Bishop.'

It does not make much difference, perhaps, by whom the "shearing" was performed; but the truth is, that the tonsure involved in the act was, in its own way, significant. The element of character which predominated from first to last in William Rollinson Whittingham was the prophetic element. He was a Nazarite from his youth; and a Nazarite in spirit to the end of his days. The prophet's fire was always burning in his heart; when it touched the heavy lips, they became eloquent. Teaching and preaching were the native element of the man. No one ever saw him who did not see him in the lecture-room or in the pulpit. There the Savonarola-like face became transformed as it is in Huntington's picture. The fleshly veil was for a moment lifted; we caught a glimpse of the heavenly light within, burning bright and clear; and the soul with all its passions and its powers, quickened and radiant in the light of a supernal beauty. Nor was it the hair only, but the whole dress and bearing which foretold the man of prophetic soul who was to dwell apart from men; and who, knowing himself better than other men could possibly know him, says of himself, in writing to a friend not long after his entrance at the Seminary:

You tell me to go into company and see human nature. I have seen enough and too much of it in these [Seminary] disputes, and on other similar occasions, without going into company. The fact is, I must choose between usefulness and relaxation, *alias* pleasure, so called. Useful in company, I cannot be; Nature—rather Providence—has utterly unfitted me for it. My awkward bodily frame, my feeble constitution, my hesitancy of speech, my unreadiness in conversation, my too susceptible feelings, all unfit me, totally unfit me, for company. On the contrary, by confining myself to a few friends, and by occupying myself in study, I do think that in time I may be useful.

God has blessed me with a quickness of preception and durable retention that by industry may be improved into instruments of usefulness for the Church at large. He has further blessed me in the opportunities for cultivating my mind altogether beyond what I had a right to expect. For this I am accountable, and with His assistance I will turn them to the best account.

Even so, the young prophet and teacher knew his mission; and he assumed, as we are told, a garb accordingly.

On his spare and angular frame his clothes hung loosely. Instead of a coat he wore a boy's roundabout, or jacket, over which was turned a broad shirt-collar, tied with a black ribbon. So he appeared before his examiners. And after this fashion he must have dressed all the time he was connected with the Seminary; for in September, 1836 (?), a friend, with many apologies remonstrated with him by letter and reported the complaints on this subject, which he had heard made by a company of clergymen. His answer shows that the remonstrance was without effect. With good reason, if health and comfort be alone to be considered, the young Fellow and deacon rejected the clerical choker of that day, and clung to his independence and black ribbon.

Like Thomas Carlyle, we believe in clothes. And our conviction is, that the young prophet, with his unshorn locks, would have been a happier man if he had never been forced to wear that clerical choker, and had not been doomed, as he was, to feel the pricking of the two pointed goads which reminded him continually of the yoke which, in being called to the priesthood, he was bound to bear. But of this, hereafter.

It has been sometimes said it was a misfortune that the home training of the boy was not supplemented by the broader culture and discipline of the college before the man entered upon the studies of the Theological Seminary. As a general principle this is undoubtedly true. And for some reasons it would have been better, perhaps, that in the present instance it had been so ordered. But, on the whole, we are inclined to think the withholding of the gift was for the best. God intimates His purpose as much by what He withholds as He does by what he bestows. Philosophical breadth, liberal culture, measuring one's self with others, are good things in their way and essential elements in forming the statesman and the politician. Not so, however, in the case of one whose peculiar vocation, as we shall see, was that of a prophet, and a witness against the excesses and corruptions of a rapidly advancing civilization. Whit-

tingham was not meant to play the courtier, or to dwell in kings' houses. He had no fondness for fine clothes, civil or ecclesiastical. He hated pomp and ceremony of every kind. He was no reed, shaking in the wind. Better then that he should be kept apart undefiled by contact with a sinful world. Let it not be thought, however, that the loss of collegiate training involved a corresponding loss of sound learning.

At the Seminary "he studied, not simply read, works on physics and logic; on this latter science his text book was Crousaz—an extended treatise in French in several volumes. In Latin he seems to have chiefly delighted in Horace; but to have read also Cicero, and Seneca and Pliny, and the Christian Cicero, Lactantius. Mention is made of Zenophon's 'Memorabilia,' to which he made an index; Thucydides, Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theophrastus and Apollodorus. In his second year he took up German, and in the third turned more particularly to the study of Syriac. All through the diary mention is made of French reading, of novels, poetry, travels, history. The Waverley novels were then astonishing the reading world, rapidly succeeding each other. Notice of them gives the key to the meaning of the frequent phrase 'finished the evening.' Twice it is seen that one of these novels—on one occasion it was the 'Abbot,' on the other the 'Antiquary'—took but an evening from more than serious employment; the record is, 'read it through.'

The last feature just noted is worthy of attention. Nothing was more remarkable than the wide range of Bishop Whittingham's reading. He was in the best sense of the word a scholar. They mistook the man who regarded him as a mere theologian. All his life long he was a reader of polite literature. When in attendance at the last General Convention which he was ever permitted to take part in, he was the delight of the social circle that gathered around the dinner table of his host; women, charmed by his simplicity, were amazed to find that he was as familiar with the last novel as they themselves were. We are indebted to his biographer for recalling two instances of this liberal culture as exhibited in later life.

On one occasion, during a visitation, he spoke to his host, for the time, of the beautiful avenue of pine trees which led to the dwelling, and of his being surprised by the number of varieties found in the same locality. 'Yes,' remarked the gentleman, with pleasure, 'there are about — different kinds.' The Bishop corrected him, asserting that there were more, and saying how many more. 'Our host,' to use the words of one present from whom the relation comes—our host remarked, 'You are mistaken, Bishop; I have studied these

woods for years, have taken great pains with that avenue of trees, and I never saw but — varieties.' The Bishop, with that impulsive energy so characteristic of him at that time, rose from his seat, and taking hold of the arm of his host, said, 'Now, let us walk out and I will show you.' I followed, and to the surprise of our host, and my astonishment, he pointed out shades of difference, noted by him, while slowly driving along the avenue for the first time, which the owner for more than a quarter of a century had overlooked.'

The other story is too lengthy to be given here in full. The sum and substance of it is, that the Bishop proved too much for a controversialist on a steamboat, by proving that Shakespeare was a student of the Bible and accepted its teachings. It is the person who was worsted who himself bears witness:

I have heard not a few lecturers on Shakespeare, but never a man who seemed more thoroughly master of his theme. I have heard all our prominent men in public life—at the bar, on the stump, in Congress—and I assure you I never heard a man more eloquent than Bishop Whittingham was in that speech delivered on the spur of the moment; I was thrilled.

To return to where we broke off. While thus devoting himself to classical studies and general literature, as if they alone were the objects of his pursuit, the young student was diligent in attendance upon his classes, took an interest in the Seminary Societies for the "Advancement of Christianity" and "Theological Learning." He was busy in writing essays on "The Primitive Sabbath," "Hades and Sheol," on "*κόσμος*," on "Accommodation," "The Quotations in the New Testament," and "The Theocracy of Israel," etc., etc. Again, his biographer tells a characteristic story, in which "the child proved father of the man."

When it was his duty first to read a paper before the Theological Society, his essay on the Sabbath was read for him by a friend, because he could not overcome his boyish shamefacedness. For this result of modesty he was fined.

It was a modesty which never forsook him all the days of his life. With an amount of learning which would make reputation for a dozen scholars, no one in private life ever heard him speak or act but with the simplicity of a child. If, on being called forth unexpectedly, he ventured an opinion, it was done in the way of apology, and never alluded to after the occasion which called it forth. It is

simply inconceivable how it could have been so, and is only to be explained by taking into account the wonderful humility which formed such an essential element of the character of the man.

We have one fault to find only with the admirable biography which the Rev. W. F. Brand has just given to us. It is, like the subject of it, too modest; it says too little regarding the intellectual side of the character it so admirably portrays. While it lets us know something of the exhaustion which followed upon the wonderful industry and unexampled toil of the years spent more immediately in intellectual pursuits, it tells us little or nothing about the results of those gigantic labors. The Seminary library is almost altogether the creation of these earlier years. Whittingham inherited qualities on his father's side, as well as his mother's side, which made him one of the greatest benefactors to the American Church. He had his father's "habits of order and great industry." The son, as well as the father," besides caring for knowledge, had a love for books as books. The son inherited his father's "fondness as a catalogue reader and an attendant upon book sales." It has been a marvel to many how, out of his meagre salary as Professor and Bishop, a library of over 15,000 volumes of rare books could ever have been collected, and left as a legacy to the Diocese of Maryland. It was because all his lifelong the collector was a "catalogue reader and an attendant upon book sales." He was continually in receipt of catalogues, not only from America but from all over Europe, of old and rare books, and not unfrequently purchased them for an inconsiderable sum. The Maryland Library has some books in it of which there are only one or two copies in the world, and whose history, if written, would form one of the most romantic episodes in the whole range of Bibliography. Of the many wonderful qualities of the man, none, as it seemed to me, was more astonishing than his intimate and accurate knowledge of books and authors. It was a department of knowledge in which he had no peer in America; perhaps few equals in the world.

It was providentially ordered that the first years of the

future Bishop's ministry should be given to work among children. After graduating, as he lacked several months of being twenty years old, and could not take orders for a year and a half, he was permitted to enjoy "the academic privileges of a Fellow," and was made "librarian, with a salary of a hundred dollars" a year. The "academic privileges" would appear to have consisted chiefly in the liberty to labor without fee or reward (other than the hundred dollars a year) for the interests of the Seminary. It was during this period of waiting that he took part with Dr. Turner in translating "Jahn's Introduction." He did the greater part of the work, and added extracts from De Wette, Rosenmüller, Carpzov, Eichorn, etc. To eke out a living he was made Chaplain (when ordained by Bishop Hobart in 1827) of a charity school, at a salary of \$300 per annum. He had for two years some three hundred children under his care, and published two small volumes of sermons (now out of print) preached at this time to the charity children. His success in the work led to his being appointed, in 1828, agent of the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, with instruction "to visit the cities and principal towns in the United States, for the purpose of disseminating information. Broken health compelled him to resign his Secretaryship in 1829. The Executive Committee in accepting his resignation, bears witness to his fidelity to the trust committed to him.

Possessed of a vast fund of practical and experimental knowledge on the subject of Sunday-School Instruction, he was singularly qualified for the formation of a 'system of instruction' adapted to general use; his talents and industry fitted him in a preëminent degree for the preparation of books of instruction adapted to that system; and his devoted attachment founded upon an intimate and accurate knowledge of her character and claims to the Church which he adorns, made it with him always a chief consideration that in this Union, at every point of observation, should be discernible the features of that Church.

After resigning the Secretaryship of the Sunday School Union, he accepted a call to take charge of the Parish of S. Marks, Orange, N. J., in 1829. Here he married the woman "who, in his eyes, ever remained the most lovely woman in the world." The Greeks have a word for

which no equivalent is to be found in our English tongue, with our feebler powers of discrimination and analysis—it is the word *στοργή*, applied to the love of parents and children, husband and wife, king and people, master and dog. It defines, as nothing else perhaps could, that affectionateness of nature which appears in the charming letters scattered throughout the two volumes of Mr. Brand, to his wife and children; above all, to the mother who bore him and brought him up. There never was a more devoted son, a more affectionate husband, a more loving father, a kinder friend, a more humane master. He loved his own and his own's own with a tender, compassionate and generous affection. Domestic life was to him the purest and best of earthly joys. Yet it never absorbed him or interfered with his vocation. His wedding day was full of work done in the service of his Master; it was so all his life through—home ties never held him captive when duty called. During his stay at Orange he had four calls elsewhere. He resigned at the last to become “Editor and Superintendent of the Press” at the urgent solicitation of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York, backed up by Dr. Onderdonk (then Bishop-elect) and eight other prominent city clergy. It was a call he could not resist. His acceptance of it marks an era in the history of the American Church, only inferior to the great Tractarian movement in England. It was proposed to furnish, at a moderate cost, the “masterly productions” of the great writers of the Church of England. But the undertaking went beyond this. The fourth volume of the series was “The Apostolic Fathers.” It was not the number of books published, however, but the impetus which was given to the reading of church literature which was of importance. Never before, or since, in America has there been such a demand for standard theological books. The first of October, 1831, Mr. Whittingham was elected Rector of S. Luke's Church, New York. He held the Rectorship until the 20th of May, 1834, when he was compelled to resign and seek rest abroad. Upon his return he was made Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary, where he found at last a sphere entirely congenial and

worthy of his great abilities. He held the chair for four years, from 1836 to 1840. His election was the making of the Seminary. The enthusiasm created was unbounded. When out of the class-room he was to be found in the library, where the young men gathered around him daily. The influence then began for the Seminary has never ceased. His students were devoted to him.

To very many of the individual students he became a close, personal friend. He found out their troubles and relieved them, at least by sympathy. Often distresses in the Seminary are due to scanty, pecuniary means; he lessened such by giving of his own, and by obtaining relief from others. He watched over them in sickness; the sick student he removed to his house for better nursing there. Often he was the religious counsellor of men who would have hidden their doubts and their temptations from the mere professor. In April, 1836 (the librarian having resigned), Professor Whittingham was appointed to his old charge, and retained it so long as he remained in the Seminary. If he had no other claim, the Seminary would owe him a debt of gratitude for his many hours of unpaid labor bestowed on the library, for his care of it and zeal for it, which nothing but love could beget. Every volume was a personal acquaintance, and he was always on the watch to increase the number.

By letter and by personal application he was a constant beggar. So many were the old books found by catalogue—hunting and bought as he could—that he came under suspicion of violating the revenue laws.

It was at this time he was at the zenith of his influence. He was much sought after as a preacher. A story is told of the power of his eloquence which reminds me of the days of Chrysostom. New York, in 1835, was visited by a great fire. The Sunday after, Mr. Whittingham preached in Grace Church.

Immediately after the sermon a gentleman entered the vestry room, and asked of the preacher, 'Will you kindly lend me the sermon I have just heard.' The request was politely declined. When it was more urgently pressed, Mr. Whittingham said, 'My dear sir, I cannot lend this or any sermon, and for reasons that you, as a merchant, can readily understand; they are my stock.' 'But, Mr. Whittingham, you must now break your rule; I must have that sermon.' The tone and manner with which this was said were so impassioned that they forced the answer, 'I have told you that I never lend my sermons, and I will not; but this one I give you—here it is.' The gentleman clutched the manuscript and said, 'For this, I shall give you \$20,000, to be expended by you in charities as you may choose.' The next day his check was received.

It is added by his biographer, as characteristic of the

man, that it was never known to his wife and family, until the last year of his life, that he had received \$20,000 for one manuscript.

It has seemed to many that it would have been better for himself and the Church at large, if a man capable of such a mighty influence in the Seminary, had never been called away to undertake the duties of the Episcopate. This is not our judgment. It is manifest that Divine Providence had been training the earnest and devoted teacher and preacher for another sphere. If the reader will read the history of the past, he will remember that, from first to last, the pastoral idea was never lost sight of. When a Deacon he was the pastor of the lambs of the flock. Elevated to the Priesthood, he was not allowed to become a mere book worm; he had the burden of the pastoral care laid upon him. In the Seminary he was not a Professor only; his *στοργή* made him the student's counsellor and friend. With all his great gifts and powers, he was never a writer. The mechanical labor imposed by writing was intolerable to him; it quenched the fervor of his impassioned nature, and the fire ceased to burn. We repeat what was said before: his mission was that of a prophet. When his *heart* indited a good matter, he must speak with his tongue. He was, according to the Hebrew conception, a *Nabi*, irrepressible in his divine enthusiasm; his intellectual powers were at the mercy, so to speak, of his feelings. When on fire, he thought with astonishing rapidity—it was like a lightning flash; when the glow subsided, the mental powers were exhausted in the effort, and the argument went heavily, sometimes haltingly. A man with such a temperament was not intended to be a recluse. He never could become a mere book worm. When the call came from Maryland, he could not refuse it. He left the work he loved, in the Seminary, to undertake a work for some reasons distasteful to him. But no man ever wrestled with the difficulties of the situation more manfully than he did. Society as such had no charm for him. Notwithstanding, he became all things to all men. He writes to his wife under date of December 7th, 1840, when on a visitation of his Diocese:

Wherever I go, there are so many with me, so much information to receive, so many questions to ask and answer, that I can scarcely secure time to fill up and sign necessary official documents, and keep my journal. Then, again, I am everywhere quartered on private hospitality; and courtesy, to say the least, requires me to regulate it with great attention. To go to a man's house, eat his victuals, occupy his chambers, use his carriage and horses, and employ his servants, and repay him by sitting down to write, allowing him just the privilege of looking at the Bishop, would be scarcely the thing. So I have to sit in the parlor and chat, and hear and tell news, and put questions, and give advice and instructions to the accompanying clergy, and discuss and solve theological questions, until late bedtime, and then go to my room, tired enough to find even writing up my journal on the washstand or dressing-table (for this is just the second time that I have enjoyed the luxury of a writing-table) a labor.

“He made himself,” his biographer says, “all things to all men.

The cultured he gratified from the abundance of his learning; with the plain farmer he talked crops and manures; as if he had been bred a farmer's boy; among artisans or artists he gained a good will by an interest in their concerns, and by showing that he could give as well as receive information on such matters. One to whom we are indebted for the relation of his quickness to discern the many varieties in an avenue of pine trees, and so to captivate the owner, tells how an honest, plain farmer, with whom the Bishop was to lodge or dine, and who had feared that he could not get along with such a scholar, was completely won by the bookman, who could so well appreciate the excellence of his pet chickens, and knew so much about the different breeds, and all the concerns of the poultry-yard.

To appreciate Bishop Whittingham's work in Maryland we must take into the account the condition in which he found the Diocese, and how he left it. He found it rent and torn asunder by faction, and assumed its cares and duties after a three-years' vacancy. Churches were dilapidated; parsonages neglected; glebes alienated.

In all his earlier visitations, when he could take any extra baggage—sometimes he had to ‘take up carriages’ as S. Paul did—the Bishop took with him surplices to make sure that the clergy should be decently habited. Not unfrequently mention is made of the use of them for the first time in such a church; even the lending of a white cravat to an officiating clergyman is noted. In the country, usually, the black gown had been the only distinctive mark of an officiating clergyman.

Such was the condition in which Bishop Whittingham found Maryland. How did he leave it? One of the leading Dioceses in the land. Before the war Maryland ranked foremost in the councils of the Church. Her

laymen were second to none for learning and for a knowledge of the law of the Church. Her schools were flourishing; everywhere there was activity, and the stirring of an earnest Church-life. It was brought about, not without conflict, and long continued struggle. Men will differ in their opinion of the importance of some of the questions at issue; it is very worthy of note, however, that in every case the Bishop and his opponents became fast friends after the strife was over, and learned to love and respect each other. It is worth while to read the history of these early controversies in the Diocese of Maryland, as a witness to the power of Christianity in enabling men to forget past differences and to love one another.

The war brought new elements into the conflict, and from that day the once prosperous Diocese has been undergoing a decline. Englishman as he was, in blood and sympathy, Bishop Whittingham never could make allowance for Southern claims. With his notions of loyalty and obedience, he never could be made to understand that the President of the United States, according to the Southern view of the question, has no claims to recognition except such as the State, in its sovereignty, chooses to acknowledge. In theory, we believe the Southern view to be right; in working and in practice, a moral impossibility. There is a logic of events, greater than all written constitutions and Federal compacts. In such a case, it was the bounden duty of the Church in Maryland to keep clear of all complications. Let it be said, however, that the wrong, if there was a wrong done, was not all on one side. The men who, on the other side, dragged the Church into politics, had not the excuse of a mistaken view of duty. When sound Churchmen forgot their principles, and made the Standing Committee and the Convention of the Diocese a party in the political strife, the day of retribution was not far off. It came, and it brought with it shame and confusion of face. Most of all, to the generous, noble-hearted Bishop, whose faults, since they were of the head and not of the heart, had a claim to consideration and regard, even more than most men's virtues. Oh, what sorrow to those who loved and honored him to see that guileless spirit

drawn in alliance with the powers of the world. It is the one page in these volumes on which we could wish that the Recording Angel might drop a tear and blot it out forever. Through trial and suffering we all pass to the light of the life eternal. The work of building up the spiritual fabric was done, the victory seemingly won, when dark and threatening clouds began to appear upon the horizon. Some men are wounded in the house of their friends. It was the misfortune of the Bishop of Maryland to be wounded by the friends which from time to time he received into his house.

A son of a New England Congregational Minister, who looked forward to the same Ministry, having rejected the teaching of his childhood, found a home in the house of Bishop Whittingham and was intimate in his family during several years, while serving as a Maryland clergyman. Fearing the approach of consumption, he went South, and suddenly he announced that he was a Catholic. Another, a descendant of a family Puritan of the Puritans, but who had received all his theological education under the Bishop's roof, after an absence of some years also became a Papist. There were others who, in the course of years, followed in the same path; and notably the Rector of a Baltimore Church, of more learning than anyone of the others, a man who had shared the Bishop's confidence and looked to him as a trusted guide.

Why was it? Our biographer suggests the answer.

The Bishop, in his zeal against Popery, had no great tenderness towards those that err in that direction. An English dignitary said to a clergyman who had sought counsel, 'Any man in English Orders who is tempted to be a Papist is a fool. Bishop Whittingham could not have been so rude; yet he sometimes as effectually hindered his influence for possible good. More than one doubter in Maryland has confessed that with all reverence and trust he could not open his grief to his Father in God. He feared too much his vehemence.

It was this vehemence which made it difficult for him to understand those who, in order that they might not lose their influence for good, were disposed to be patient with doubters: who felt it their duty to develop, as far as possible, the Catholic element in the Church, both in doctrine and practice, in order to prevent men going to Rome. The Rev. A. A. Curtiss, in his defection to Rome, was succeeded in the Rectorship of Mount Calvary Church, Baltimore, by one who had little care or regard for ceremonial observance as such. But he found himself in a position where success depended on presenting, to the fullest

possible extent, the Catholic teaching of the Church. In this way only could he hope to prevent many of his flock following in the footsteps of a pastor they loved and revered. The question at issue was not a question of principle, but of expediency. Between Presbyter and Bishop there was at all times the closest friendship and the fullest accord. There was a difference, however, of point of view. The zealous pastor had a regard, first and foremost, for his flock and for the dangers which threatened them. The Bishop had a regard for the Diocese, and could not afford, under existing circumstances, to set at nought the opinion of persons hostile to himself. It was a relief to the situation when the Bishop and his family withdrew from the Parish Church. The relief was only temporary. Enemies were on the watch. Men jealous of success, and with no sympathy for a young rector fighting at great odds, made the offering of a prayer from the Visitation of the Sick, in the Office of the Burial of the Dead, an excuse for presentation. It was in vain to plead that the Burial Office is interpolated by Bishops, Priests and Deacons every day. What does the inquisitor care for even-handed justice? The thumb-screw and the rack are, in the eyes of the Calvinist, of more value than the scales in which equity holds in even balance the motives which govern the actions of men. The hotbed of theological controversy has bred many a hideous caricature of Christianity; but the grimmest and most repulsive of all is the ecclesiastical *ghoul*, who could seize upon the occasion of a funeral to collect material for a brother's indictment. It is in vain to plead with the disciples of the man who made it a penal offense to give the names of Catholic Saints to children, that the Church of the Ages builds no adamantine walls, tempered with logical mortar, between the living and the dead; it is in vain to plead that there is no people so utterly without religious affection as not to love and reverence their dead; no Chinaman so bereft of religious instinct as not to burn incense at the shrine of his ancestors; no South Sea Islander so degraded as not to retain some trace of piety in remembering, with religious veneration, his progenitors and benefactors; but what is the voice of Nature, or the promptings of instinct, or the

claims of piety to the man, the fundamental tenet of whose creed it is, that the image of God is blotted out from the human soul, and man, as man, is utterly corrupt and sinful? You speak to the deaf when you point such an one to the fact that the object of Divine Revelation is not to forestall or destroy the religious instinct, but to preserve it from superstition. to enlighten and direct it. There are men who under the plea of conscience know no pity. They would mete out justice without mercy to all men. With such men Bishop Whittingham was at war all his life. Who more conscientious than he? Who more exact in every detail of duty? Who more just in all his dealings? Who was ever purer, more unspotted, more without taint or soil? If any had a right to be severe, he had the right. And he was at times severe. He could call down fire from heaven with any other man. But wrath in an instant turned to pity, when he saw the mischief he had done. He could hold a burglar in an iron grip, and in his rage tear his hat to shreds; but when the transgressor pleaded for forgiveness and pointed to his uncovered head, his own best hat was not too good for the rascal's crown. "Children of the Devil" he once thundered out in the ears of the students of S. James College, as he jumped out of his carriage to quell a college rebellion. The effect was electrical. Nor less delightful to the quick ear of undergraduates 'ever ready to catch a slip' were the words that followed when wrath turned to pity, and the good Bishop said: "My children, my dear children, mean ye to break my heart?" It was of this prerogative of mercy the Standing Committee of his Diocese sought to rob him, when they endeavored to bring him to trial for not carrying into effect the Canons of the Diocese. It was the climax to the insults he had all along received from the men who from the day he entered the Diocese had sought "to turn his glory into shame." They would not let him pronounce "the declaration of absolution" for the penitent; they would not allow him to minister to the flock and feed his children with the bread of life. They would strip his office of all that made it most glorious in his days, and turn him into a mere confirming machine. When young and strong he

could bear it, but at the end of his days, to be branded as a law breaker, to be stripped of the one prerogative which alone made his office glorious in his eyes, the prerogative of mercy, it all but broke his heart. Thank God that ever David lived to write the Psalter ; without it how hopelessly perplexing some of the darker problems of life would be.

It is, I suppose, fortunate upon the whole that Ecclesiastical Courts, by their travesty of justice, make themselves contemptible in the eyes of men. The one thing which the ordinary clergyman seems incapable of learning is that private judgment and opinion is one thing, official character and legislative function another and a different thing. The cry, "something must be done" (*Christianos ad leones*) is enough. "Something must be done," no matter whether it be in accordance with law and equity. The end will justify the means. The Court called to try Bishop Whittingham in his own Diocese did not find *him* guilty of what his enemies charged against him ; but they must "do something," and to deliver their own souls they passed judgment on persons who were not before them. It was a cowardly and unrighteous act. It was in vain the men falsely accused pleaded for a trial. The prophets' work alas ! was done.

So far we have confined ourselves to the relation of the Bishop to his own immediate sphere, but there was work to do during the term of his Episcopate, beyond the Diocese. The troubles with which Bishop Whittingham had to contend during the last years of his Episcopate were, after all, but the feeble mutterings of a storm which had spent its fury long before, and which he had braved with all the powers of his heroic nature. It would be unprofitable, as well as idle, to unlock the closed gates of the past, and bring to light again the party struggles of bygone years. Let the dead bury their dead ! He who will take the trouble to search the sad and painful record of these *causes célèbres* cannot fail to be attracted by the utterances of one of the ablest and the most learned among the Bishops on the bench. They are masterpieces of logical argument. It is not the powerful argument, however, which impresses us so much as the manifest moral conviction, the deep ear-

nestness, the utter truthfulness of the pleader. This man is no mere pleader, he is no trickster trying to make the worse appear the better cause. He is honest; he is sincere. While admitting the weakness, he does not believe in the guilt of the accused. Such testimony is worth a hundred witnesses. It was, as we believe, to hear this testimony that the Seminary was robbed of one it could so ill afford to lose.

Nor was this the only occasion when this man of irreproachable integrity and life was called upon to bear witness in behalf of others suffering from the rancor of party. The same brave spirit that resisted the attack made on the Bishop of New York, came to the front again when the Bishop of New Jersey was placed in peril. Again, it is not the powerful nature of the argument in the judgment rendered that forces conviction so much as the sincerity and perfect integrity of the man. It is the prophet we hear, not the pleader, bearing witness in behalf of justice and righteousness before man. But the righteousness which he sought to maintain was evangelical righteousness, not the righteousness of the law. It was a righteousness in which justice was always mingled with mercy.

I should regard myself (it is his last appeal in behalf of Bishop Onderdonk as prostituting my character as a member of this Council, if I listened for one moment to the suggestions of expediency where justice and mercy alone are to be regarded. A burdened minister of God's high justice, and a proportionably privileged administrant of the mercy that is his dearest attribute, I cannot crawl in the dust and lay my ear to listen for the howling of the wolves that howl around my Saviour's fold.

Nobler words were never spoken by mortal man! "The howling of the wolves without the fold" had no terror for him. Worldly expediency never influenced him. To discharge the duties of his high office, as "*the burdened minister of God's high justice, and the proportionably privileged administrant of the mercy that is His dearest attribute*"—this was the only thought that ever entered the pure shrine of his consecrated spirit. Men called him impracticable; so in their sense of the word he was. They grew weary at times of his "protests," and they attributed it to self-will. Not so! It was his nature, as we have

urged all along, to act on the highest principle, and to bear witness at all times to the truth. It is not claimed for him that he took broad and liberal views of things, nor that he was at all times tolerant and patient in dealing with those who differed from him, nor that his judgment could always be relied upon when his feelings were greatly interested; what is claimed is, that he had a mission given to him as Elijah and John the Baptist had, and he discharged that mission to the glory of God and the good of his fellow men. There was much seeming waste in such life; much, in the way of witness-bearing and protest, seemingly thrown away; but this is our judgment, based upon an outside view of things. We cannot see how much the presence and attitude of such a man in the councils of the Church prevents in the way of expediency and temporizing. We cannot tell how or when the seed sown, and for the time being apparently lost, will in after years, when passion and prejudice have passed away, grow up and bear fruit. It is the moral heroism of the man which is of value, just as self-denial and simplicity of life are of value in an age of luxury and worldly success.

The relation of Bishop Whittingham to the unfortunate Mexican *fiasco* is a notable instance of the way his feelings would sometimes warp his judgment and lead him to act even contrary to his own conscientious convictions at times. He inherited an intense dislike of the Church of Rome. He looked upon the Roman Church very much as Hippolytus did. He had no sympathy with its worldly policy; his soul loathed its double dealing and its tampering with the truth. Its whole system was a thing utterly foreign to his nature, and his convictions of duty. He was always ready for a crusade against the Pope. It was easy, then, for those who were interested in Mexican affairs to draw him into a relation to matters which, as a Churchman, he could not sanction, and as a man of integrity and honor he could not defend. We find him writing to his brother Bishops after Bishop Lee's return from Mexico:

I find his report of the state of things in Mexico so little consonant with action under Article X. of the Constitution as, in my judgment, to throw the work quite into the missionary field. * * * I could not see how it could be

possible for us to recognize a handful of our own converts and the attendants—however numerous—at their services in a foreign Church in the true meaning and intent of the Article of the Constitution under which only we could act.”

This is just what sound Churchmen have felt upon the subject all along. How can a few Mexican adventurers or a rabble hired by political and ecclesiastical grievances be called in any proper sense of the word, a Church, and above all a National Church? They may be indeed a fit subject for missionary enterprise, but surely nothing more. It is manifestly right and proper that, if any considerable number of our own people go into Mexico, we should follow them up with the ministrations of the Church, since Rome treats them as excommunicate. But with no propriety can we call them a National Church. Again, Bishop Whittingham writes to Bishop Kerfoot, under date of September 21st, 1875:

I have been grievously disappointed at the evidence of the existence of any Mexican Church, properly speaking, or in the sense of Article X. of our Constitution, and amazed and shocked at the looseness and shallowness of the very little I have been able to obtain of evidence of doctrinal holdings and ecclesiastical doings by the conductors of the movement.

To the last he labored to have things set right; he accepted in good faith pledges given regarding the acceptance of the Mozarabic rite (somewhat modified), and left the work to others. The pledges given have never been fulfilled, for the reason that there are no responsible persons to carry them into effect. It is, from first to last, a painful business, and a warning to those who, under the plea of hatred of the Bishop of Rome, undertake to violate established principles of Church order, and play the part of busybodies in other men's matters. There was, too, a peculiar temptation to Bishop Whittingham in the Mexican business, in the opportunity it afforded for carrying out the long desired wish of his heart, to see the Mozarabic rite revived in the west, as a Catholic liturgy; and so establish a practical argument against Roman claims. The last few years of his life had been given almost wholly to liturgical study. He made great advancement, and had succeeded in getting together one of the best liturgical collections in the country. He was busily engaged, nearly up to the time of his death,

in work upon the text, and, had his life been spared, would have made some valuable contributions to this department of theological science.

His liturgical notes and criticisms, it may be added, form but a very small part of the literary treasures which Bishop Whittingham has left behind him. It would be a fitting contribution to a memorial to his name, if some wealthy laymen, in acknowledgment of his great service to sound learning, and his superabounding labors in behalf of the Church in America, would ask that a literary executor be appointed, and place at his disposal the necessary means to prepare and publish these remains of a great scholar.

Our thanks are due to the Rev. W. F. Brand for the admirable and exhaustive memoir just given us. It is really a narrative of a very active and somewhat varied life. The story is told without any attempt at dramatic effect. The facts are left to speak for themselves, and just enough is added to place the events narrated in their proper light, so that the reader may form an intelligent opinion regarding them. The Biographer has kept before his mind that he is writing history, and has given, by the method adopted, a really valuable contribution to the history of the American Church.

THOMAS RICHEY.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

RESOLUTION OF 1880.

Resolved: That a Joint-Committee, to consist of seven Bishops, seven Presbyters, and seven Laymen, be appointed, to consider and to report to the next General Convention, whether, in view of the fact that this Church is soon to enter upon the second century of its organized existence in this country, the changed conditions of the national life do not demand certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use.

REPORT.

To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Joint Committee of Twenty-one appointed by the General Convention of 1880 to consider and to report, Whether the changed conditions of the national life do not demand "certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the direction of liturgical enrichment and increased flexibility of use," respectfully ask leave to report as follows:

In accordance with a resolution of the General Convention which recommends all committees appointed to sit during the recess to meet, for the purpose of organizing, immediately after the close of the session, the Committee came together on the evening of Wednesday, the twenty-seventh day of October, 1880, and was organized by the appointment of the Bishop of Connecticut as Chairman, and of Dr. Huntington, of Massachusetts, as Secretary. Later, it was agreed that the official title of the Committee should be **THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.**

In addition to the first meeting for organization three groups of sessions have been held during the recess, one of them in January, 1881, another in October, 1882, and an-

other in April, 1883. All of these were convened in the city of New York, and were very fully attended.

In the death of the Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, of Maryland, which occurred in October, 1881, the Committee lost the services of an accomplished member, whose active participation in the work of the first meeting had given promise of much usefulness. His place has remained unfilled.

Early in 1881 the work of review was distributed among three Sub-Committees, and at the same time the following resolutions were adopted:—

(a) "*Resolved*, That this Committee asserts, at the outset, its conviction that no alteration should be made touching either statements or standards of doctrine in the Book of Common Prayer."

(b) "*Resolved*, That this Committee, in all its suggestions and acts, be guided by those principles of liturgical construction and ritual use which have guided the compilation and amendments of the Book of Common Prayer, and have made it what it is."

Mindful of the rule of action laid down for them in the Resolution under which they were appointed, namely, that they were to consider the desirableness "of certain alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the direction of liturgical enrichment and flexibility of use," the Committee also governed themselves by these two resolutions, believing that in no other way could they hope to reach any result that would or ought to be acceptable to this Church.

Whether any such result has, in whole or in part, been reached, remains of course to be seen. The Committee only claim for themselves that they have not spared time, labor or study in prosecuting the work committed to them, nor have they failed to seek the guidance of the heavenly Wisdom.

Their object has been to search for what seemed necessary or desirable in the way of additions among the rich stores of devotional forms which are the common heritage of the Catholic Church, rather than to undertake new compositions of their own. Among the later sources which have thus been drawn upon, they feel bound to mention,

especially, Canon Bright's *Ancient Collects*, and *The Daily Service* of our own lamented Hutton.

It should be understood that no member of the Committee is, by his signature to this Report, committed unreservedly to every addition or change proposed, but each reserves to himself the privilege of taking such action in respect thereto in Convention as, upon debate and fuller consideration, he may think proper.

Without further preface, then, and without entering into lengthened details which must all be gone over again in the discussions of the Convention, the Committee submit the following as the additions and changes which they respectfully propose for adoption. It will be seen that they are classified and arranged with references, for the sake of convenience, to the Book which is annexed as a schedule to this Report, and which the committee venture to hope will not only serve the purpose just mentioned, but will also show (as their long list of alterations and additions, if reported alone, would not do) how little real change is proposed in the structure, arrangement, appearance, or even size of our cherished Book of Common Prayer.

The Committee recommend that the changes embodied in the following resolutions be approved, and made known to the various Dioceses, in order that they may be adopted hereafter, in the manner provided by the Constitution.

Signed:

J. Williams.

Henry O. Lay.

Wm. Bacon Stevens.

A. Cleveland Coxe.

John F. Young.

Wm. Croswell Doane.

F. D. Huntington.

Wm. R. Huntington.

Daniel R. Goodwin.

Morgan Dix.

Edwin Harwood.

J. F. Garrison.

Hamilton Fish.

Henry Coppée.

E. T. Wilder.

John W. Andrews.

James M. Smith.

Hill Burgwin.

Hugh W. Sheffey.

Francis Harrison.

The foregoing is the preface to the Report of the Joint-Committee as presented to the Convention. The Amendments as hereafter given are such as were adopted by the Convention after consideration in both Houses, upon the final report of the Joint-Committee of Conference, and are now to be made known to the several Dioceses.

THE TITLE-PAGE.

Omit from the title-page the words "together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David," putting a full stop after the word AMERICA.

On the first page of the leaf preceding the title-page print the general title,

The Book of Common Prayer.

THE INTRODUCTORY PORTION.

Conform the entries in the *Table of Contents* to the actual contents, as the same shall be finally determined.

Substitute for *The Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read*, and for *The Order how the rest of the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read*, the general order *Concerning the Service of the Church*, including an enlarged *Table of Proper Psalms* and a *Table of Selections of Psalms*.

CONCERNING THE SERVICE OF THE CHURCH.

The Order for Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, are independent Services, and may be used either separately or together, *Provided* that no one of these Services be habitually disused.

The Litany may be used either in place of the Prayers that follow the *Collect for Grace* in the Order for Morning Prayer, or in place of the Prayers that follow the *Collect for Aid against Perils* in the Order for Evening Prayer.

On any day when Morning and Evening Prayer shall have been said, or are to be said in Church, the Minister may, at any other Service, with or without a Sermon or Lecture, use such devotions as he shall at his discretion select from this Book, subject to the direction of the Ordinary.

For days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, appointed by the Civil or by the Ecclesiastical Authority, and for other special occasions for which no Service or Prayer hath been provided in this Book, the Bishop may set forth such Form or Forms as he shall think fit, in which case the same shall be used and none other.

THE ORDER HOW THE PSALTER IS APPOINTED TO BE READ.

The Psalter shall be read through once every month, as it is there appointed, both for Morning and for Evening Prayer. And when a month hath one-and-thirty days, it is ordered that the same Psalms shall be read on the last day of the said month which were read the day before.

The Minister shall, on the days for which they are appointed, use the Proper Psalms, as set forth in the Table of Proper Psalms. But note that on other days, instead of reading from the Psalter as divided for daily Morning and Evening Prayer, he may read one of the Selections set out by this Church.

TABLE OF PROPER PSALMS ON CERTAIN DAYS.

FIRST SUNDAY IN AD- VENT.	Morning. 8, 50	Evening. 96, 97	EASTER-EVEN.	Morning. 4, 16, 17	Evening. 80, 81
CHRISTMAS-DAY.	19, 45, 85	89, 110, 122	EASTER-DAY.	2, 57, 111	113, 114, 118
CIRCUMCISION.	40, 90	65, 108	ASCENSION-DAY.	8, 15, 21	24, 47, 108
EPIPHANY.	46, 47, 48	72, 117, 135	WHITSUN-DAY.	43, 68	104, 145
PURIFICATION.	20, 86, 87	84, 113, 134	TRINITY SUNDAY.	20, 33	93, 97, 150
ASH WEDNESDAY.	6, 32, 38	102, 130, 143	TRANSFIGURATION.	27, 61, 93	84, 99, 133
ANNUNCIATION.	89	121, 122, 128	ST. MICHAEL'S.	91, 108	34, 148
GOOD FRIDAY.	22, 40, 54	69, 88	ALL SAINTS' DAY.	1, 15, 146	112, 121, 149

Note, That when he announceth the Proper Psalms, the Minister shall say, Proper Psalms for — (naming the Feast or Fast) are such, or such: (giving the numbers thereof).

TABLE OF SELECTIONS OF PSALMS.

FIRST.	Psalm. 1, 15, 91	ELEVENTH.	Psalm. 80, 81
SECOND.	8, 33	TWELFTH.	84, 122, 134
THIRD.	19, 24, 103	THIRTEENTH.	85, 93, 97
FOURTH.	23, 34, 65	FOURTEENTH.	102
FIFTH.	26, 43, 141	FIFTEENTH.	107
SIXTH.	32, 130, 131	SIXTEENTH.	118
SEVENTH.	37	SEVENTEENTH.	123, 124, 125
EIGHTH.	51, 42	EIGHTEENTH.	139, 145
NINTH.	72, 96	NINETEENTH.	147
TENTH.	77	TWENTIETH.	148, 149, 150

Note, That when he announceth a Selection of Psalms the Minister shall say, The Psalms selected are such, or such: or The Psalm selected is such a one: (giving the numbers, or number, as the case may be).

THE ORDER HOW THE REST OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE IS APPOINTED TO BE READ.

The Old Testament is appointed for the First Lessons, and the New Testament for the Second Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the year.

And to know what Lessons shall be read every day, look for the day of the month in the Calendar following, and there ye shall find the Chapters that shall be read for the Lessons both at Morning and at Evening Prayer; except only the Movable Holy-days, which are not in the Calendar; and the Immoveable where there is a blank left in the column of Lessons; the Proper Lessons for all which days are to be found in the Table of Proper Lessons.

If in any Church upon a Sunday or Holy-day, both Morning and Evening Prayer be not said, the Minister may read the Lessons appointed either for Morning or for Evening Prayer.

At Evening Prayer on Sunday, the Minister may read the Lesson from the Gospels appointed for that day of the month, in place of the Second Lesson for the Sunday.

Upon any day for which no Proper Lessons are provided, the Lessons appointed in the Calendar for any day in the same week may be read in place of the Lessons for the day.

On Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, especially appointed, and on occasions of Ecclesiastical Conventions and of Charitable Collections, the Minister may appoint such Lessons as he shall think fit in his discretion.

HYMNS AND ANTHEMS.

Hymns may be sung before and after every Office in this Book, and also before and after Sermons; but only such Hymns shall be used in this Church as are, or may be duly set forth and allowed by the authority of the same.

Anthems may be sung instead of Hymns, but only such Anthems as are in words either of Holy Scripture or of the Book of Common Prayer.

Add to the *Calendar* a Feast to be entitled, *The Transfiguration of Christ*, and assign the same to the sixth day of August.

Substitute for the present *Lectionary* the Lectionary recommended by the Joint Committee on the Revision of the Lectionary, and adopted.

After the first paragraph of *Rules to know when the Moveable Feasts and Holy-days begin*, insert as follows:

But *Note* that the Full Moon, for the purposes of these Rules and Tables, is the Fourteenth Day of a Lunar Month, reckoned according to an ancient Ecclesiastical computation, and not the real or Astronomical Full Moon.

Insert in *The Table of Feasts*, after the words *St. James the Apostle*, the words *The Transfiguration of Christ*, and after the words *St. Barnabas*, the words *the Apostle*.

Substitute for the present eight Tables for finding Easter-day, the Dominical Letter, etc., the six Tables given as follows:

(Omitted as unimportant. Ed.)

THE ORDER FOR DAILY MORNING PRAYER.

Alter the first rubric so that it shall read:—

¶ *The Minister shall begin the MORNING PRAYER by reading one or more of the following Sentences of Scripture; and then he shall say that which is written after them; save that on Christmas-day, Easter-day, and Whitsun day, and on any day not a Lord's Day, he may omit the Exhortation, and proceed to bid the People to prayer at the Confession, or, except on days of fasting and abstinence, he may begin at the Lord's Prayer; Saying in the one case, Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God, or in the other, Let us pray.*

Omit from the opening sentences the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th and 14th, which omitted sentences are all retained at the beginning of *The Order for Daily Evening Prayer*, and insert the following,—*Ps. cxxii. 1; Phil. i. 2; Isai. xl. 3; St. Luke ii. 10, 11; Isai. lii. 1; Lam. i. 12; Ps. cxviii. 24; and portions of St. Mark xvi. 6; St. Luke xxiv. 34; St. John iv. 23; Rev. iv. 8.*—The same to be arranged, spaced, and rubricated, as follows:

The Lord is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him. *Hab. ii. 20.*

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the LORD. *Psaln cxxii. 1.*

Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be alway acceptable in thy sight, O LORD, my strength and my redeemer. *Psaln xix. 14, 15.*

Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. *Phil. i. 2.*

When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. *Ezek. xviii. 27.*

Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O LORD, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. *Psaln cxlii. 2.*

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveness, though we have rebelled against him; neither have we obeyed the voice of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us. *Dan. ix. 9, 10.*

I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. *St. Luke xv. 18, 19.*

Repent ye; for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. *St. Matt. iii. 2. Advent.*
 Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway
 for our God. *Isaï. xl. 3.*

Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which *Christmas-day.*
 shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a
 Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. *St. Luke ii. 10, 11.*

From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of *Epiphany.*
 the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place
 incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my Name
 shall be great among the heathen, saith the LORD of hosts. *Mal. i. 11.*

Awake, awake; put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful gar-
 ments, O Jerusalem. *Isaï. lii. 1.*

Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see *Good Friday.*
 if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow. *Lam. i. 12.*

He is risen. The Lord is risen indeed. *St. Mark xvi. 6. Easter-day.*
St. Luke, xxiv. 34.

This is the day which the LORD hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in
 it. *Psaln cxviii. 24.*

Seeing that we have a great High Priest that is passed *Ascension-day.*
 into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us come boldly unto the throne
 of Grace that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help us in time of need.
Heb. iv. 14, 16.

The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worship- *Whitsun-day.*
 pers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. *St. John iv. 23.*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and *Trinity Sunday.*
 is, and is to come. *Rev. iv. 8.*

Omit the rubric that follows the opening sentences.

Substitute for the present alternative *Declaration of Ab-*
solution, this form:

The Almighty and merciful Father grant you true repentance, absolution
 and remission of all your sins, amendment of life, and the grace and consola-
 tion of his Holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*

Alter the rubric before the *Venite*, so that it shall read:

¶ *Then shall be sung or said this Psalm following; except on the Days for*
which Proper Anthems are appointed, except also on Ash-Wednesday, the six
days next before Easter, and when it is used in the course of the Psalms, upon
the nineteenth day of the month.

¶ *But Note That, save on the Sundays in Lent, the latter portion of the Venite*
may be omitted.

Omit from the *Venite* the two verses taken from *Psaln*
xcvi.; leave an open space, and append the last four verses
 of *Psaln xcv.*

Change the rubric following the *Venite*, so that it shall
 read:—

¶ *Then shall follow a Portion of the Psalms, or one of the Selections of Psalms,*
as they are appointed. And at the end of every Psalm, and likewise at the end of

the Venite, Benedictus es Domine, Benedicite, Benedictus, Jubilate, De Profundis, may be, and at the end of the whole Portion or Selection from the Psalter, shall be sung or said the Gloria Patri.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning is now, and ever shall be world without end.
Amen.

¶ *At the end of the whole portion of the Psalms or Selection from the Psalter the Gloria in Excelsis may be sung or said, instead of the Gloria Patri.*

Omit the *Gloria in Excelsis*.*

In the *Note* prefixed to the *Te Deum laudamus*, insert after the word *Minister* the words *or he that readeth*.

Insert between the *Te Deum* and the *Benedicite*, as an alternative canticle, the *Benedictus es Domine*.

For the second rubric after the *Benedicite* substitute the following:—

¶ *And after that shall be sung or said the Hymn following: but Note, That, save on the Sundays in Advent, the latter portion thereof may be omitted.*

Insert the hitherto omitted portion of the *Benedictus*, leaving an open space between the first four and the last eight verses of the hymn.

Print as alternatives to the *Benedictus*, the *Psalms, Jubilate Deo* and *De Profundis*, prefixing to each the rubric:—

¶ *Or this Psalm.*

Change the wording of the rubric prefixed to the *Apostles' Creed*, so that it shall read:—

¶ *Then shall be said the Apostles' Creed by the Minister and the People standing. And any Churches may, instead of the words, He descended into hell, use the words, He went into the place of departed spirits, which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed.*

Insert the word *again* after the word *rose* in the *Apostles' Creed*, both here, and wherever else the *Creed* is printed in the *Prayer-Book*.

After the *Collect for Grace* insert the following rubrics:—

¶ *In places where it may be convenient, here followeth the Anthem.*

¶ *The following Prayers are to be omitted here, when the Litany is said; and Note, That on Christmas-day, Easter-day and Whitsunday and on any Week day, the Minister may here end the Morning Order with such Prayer or Prayers taken out of this Book as he shall think proper.*

* Transferred to the corresponding position in the Order for Evening Prayer.

Omit the rubric after the Prayer for the President of the United States.

Insert in *The Prayer for All Conditions of Men*, after the words *body, or estate*, the words, *especially those for whom our prayers are desired*,—the same to be printed in italics, bracketed, and given a mark of reference to a marginal note, **This may be said when any desire the Prayers of the Congregation.*

Insert in the *General Thanksgiving*, after the words *to all men*, the words *particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them*,—the same to be printed in italics, bracketed, and given a mark of reference to a marginal note, **This may be said when any desire to return thanks for mercies vouchsafed to them.*

THE ORDER FOR DAILY EVENING PRAYER.

Substitute the following rubric for the one that immediately precedes the opening *Sentences*:—

¶ *The Minister shall begin the Evening Prayer by reading one or more of the following Sentences of Scripture, and then he shall say that which is written after them. But on days other than the Lord's day, he may, at his discretion, pass at once from the Sentences to the Lord's Prayer.*

Omit from the opening *Sentences* the 2d, 3d, 4th, 9th, 11th, 12th and 13th, and add thereto *Ps. xxvi. 8; cxli. 2; xcvi. 9; St. Mark xiii. 35, 36; Rev. xxi. 3; Isai. ii. 5, 3; Col. iii. 1; Rev. xxii. 17; Ps. xliii. 3; Isai. vi. 3*; the same to be arranged, spaced and rubricated as follows:

The LORD is in his holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before him. *Hab. ii. 20.*

LORD, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth. *Psaln xxvi. 8.*

Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice. *Psaln cxli. 2.*

O worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness; let the whole earth stand in awe of him. *Psaln xcvi. 9.*

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. *Psaln li. 17.*

I acknowledge my transgressions; and my sin is ever before me. Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. *Psaln li. 3, 9.*

Render your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the LORD your

God; for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. *Joel* ii. 18.

O LORD correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger lest thou bring me to nothing. *Jer.* x. 24.

If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. *1 John* i. 8, 9.

Watch ye, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, *Advent*. at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning; lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping. *St. Mark* xiii. 35, 36.

Behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them and be their God. *Rev.* xxi. 8.

Come ye, and let us walk in the light of the LORD. And He will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. *Isai.* ii. 5, 8.

If ye then be risen with Christ seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. *Col.* iii. 1.

Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. *Heb.* ix. 24.

The Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. *Rev.* xxii. 17.

O send out thy light and thy truth, that they may lead me, and bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy dwelling. *Psal.* xliii. 8.

Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory. *Isai.* vi. 8.

Substitute the following for the rubric before the General Exhortation:—

Let us humbly confess our sins unto Almighty God.—

¶ *Or else he shall say as followeth.*

Print *Amen* at the end of the *Declaration of Absolution*; and omit the rubric that immediately follows said Absolution.

Substitute for the present alternative *Declaration of Absolution* the one adopted in the order for Morning Prayer.

Change the rubric before the Lord's Prayer so that it shall read:—

¶ *Then the Minister shall kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer; the People still kneeling, and repeating it with him.*

Insert immediately after the words,

Answer, The Lord's name be praised.

the *Gloria in Excelsis*, preceded by the following rubric:—

¶ *Then shall follow a Portion of the Psalms, as they are appointed, or one of the*

Selections, as they are set forth by this Church. And at the end of every Psalm, and likewise at the end of the Magnificat, Cantate Domino, Bonum est confiteri, Nunc dimittis, Deus misereatur, Benedic, anima mea,—may be sung or said the Gloria Patri; and at the end of the whole Portion or Selection of Psalms for the day, shall be sung or said the Gloria Patri, or else the Gloria in Excelsis, as followeth.

Insert immediately before the *Cantate Domino*, the Hymn called *Magnificat*, preceded by the following rubric:—

¶ After which shall be sung or said the Hymn called *Magnificat*, as followeth.

And followed by this rubric, in place of the present one:

¶ Or this Psalm, except where it is read in the ordinary course of the Psalms, on the nineteenth day of the month.

Insert immediately after the *Bonum est confiteri*, the following note:—

Note, That, on any day in Lent, instead of the *Magnificat*, or *Cantate Domino*, or *Bonum est confiteri*, there may be said, Psalm xlii., *Quemadmodum*.

Insert immediately after the rubric providing for the New Testament Lesson, the Hymn called *Nunc dimittis*, preceded by the rubric:—

¶ And after that, shall be sung or said the Hymn called *Nunc dimittis*, as followeth.

and followed by the rubric:—

¶ Or else this Psalm; except it be on the twelfth day of the month.

instead of that at present prefixed to the *Deus misereatur*.

Insert immediately after the *Benedic, anima mea*, the following note and rubric:—

Note, That on any day in Lent, instead of *Nunc dimittis*, or *Deus misereatur*, or *Benedic, anima mea*, there may be said, Psalm xliii., *Judica me, Deus*.

¶ Then shall be said the Apostles' Creed, by the Minister and the People standing. And any Churches may instead of the words, He descended into hell, use the words, He went into the place of departed spirits, which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed.

After the *Apostles' Creed* omit the rubric

¶ Or this, and the *Creed* that follows it.

After the rubric that follows the *Creed*, insert between the words,

“And grant us thy salvation,”

and the words,

Minister, O God, make clean, etc.,

eight additional versicles, to wit:

Minister. O Lord, save thy people.

Answer. And bless thine inheritance.

Minister. Endue thy Ministers with righteousness.

Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.

Minister. O Lord, save our Rulers.

Answer. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

Minister. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Answer. For it is thou alone that makest wars to cease in all the world.

Substitute for the first part of the *Collect for Aid against Perils*, the words,

Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord; and by thy great mercy defend, etc.

And insert the following rubrics immediately after the said *Collect*:—

¶ *In places where it may be convenient, here followeth the Anthem.*

¶ *The Minister may here end the Evening Prayer with such Prayer, or Prayers, taken out of this Book, as he shall think fit.*

Substitute for the present prayer for the President of the United States the following:

A Prayer for the President of the United States, and all in Civil Authority.

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting and power infinite, Have mercy upon this whole land; and so rule the hearts of thy servants THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, The Governor of this State, and all others in authority, that they, knowing whose ministers they are, may above all things seek thine honour and glory; and that we and all the People, duly considering whose authority they bear, may faithfully and obediently honour them, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word and ordinance; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Make the same changes in the *Prayer for all Conditions of Men*, and the *General Thanksgiving*, as have been proposed above in connection with these Prayers in the Morning Order.

Substitute for *The Prayer of St. Chrysostom*, *The Prayer for God's Guidance and Defence*, as follows:

A Prayer for God's Guidance and Defence.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants toward the attainment of everlasting salvation; that, among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be

defended by thy most gracious and ready help; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THE BEATTITUDES OF THE GOSPEL,

to be placed immediately after *The Order for Daily Evening Prayer.*

¶ *This Office may be used after the third Collect at Evening Prayer on any day, instead of the Prayers which are there placed. Or it may be said as a separate Office.*

¶ *The People kneeling, the Minister standing up shall say as followeth:*

Jesus went up into a mountain; and his disciples came unto him. And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying :

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God.

People. Lord, have mercy upon us; and be it unto thy servants according to thy word.

Minister. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

People. Let thy loving mercy come also unto us, O Lord: even thy salvation according to thy word.

Minister. Let us pray.

¶ *Then the Minister shall kneel and say the Lord's Prayer with the Collects following; but the Lord's Prayer may be omitted if it have been said immediately before.*

Our Father who art in Heaven, etc.

For Grace to seek Spiritual Blessings.

O God, who hast made us for thyself; Incline our hearts unto thy testimonies, and turn away our eyes from beholding vanity; and that we may be

freed from the too great love of earthly things, knit our affections to things heavenly, through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For Wisdom.

O God, by whom the meek are guided in judgment, and light riseth up in darkness for the godly; Grant us, in all our doubts and uncertainties, the grace to ask what thou wouldest have us to do, that the Spirit of Wisdom may save us from all false choices, and that in thy light we may see light, and in thy straight path may not stumble; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Lord bless us and keep us, the Lord make his face to shine upon us and be gracious unto us, the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and give us peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

THE LITANY.

Substitute for the rubric prefixed to *The Litany*, the following rubrics:—

¶ *To be used on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and on the Rogation Days, after the third Collect at Morning or Evening Prayer, or before the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion; or as a separate Service.*

¶ *To be used also on any day in Lent, at the discretion of the Minister.*

Note, that the LITANY may be omitted altogether on Christmas-day, Easter-day and Whitsun-day.

Insert after the words “lightning and tempest,” the words “from fire and flood.”

Insert after the first of the Intercessions the following suffrage for the President of the United States:

That it may please thee to behold and bless thy servant THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; and to endue him with wisdom, true righteousness and holiness of life;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Insert against the Intercessions for *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, a side rubric showing where to introduce the proper suffrage at Ordinations.

Insert after the suffrage for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the following suffrage:—

That it may please thee to send forth labourers into thine harvest;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

Insert immediately after the words,

O Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world;

Have mercy upon us,

the following, in place of what at present occupies the space between the said words and the rubric preceding the Lord's Prayer:—

O Christ, hear us!

O Christ, hear us!

O Saviour of the world, who by thy Cross and precious Blood hast redeemed us;

Save us, and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.

¶ *The Minister may, at his discretion, except when the Litany is used as a separate service, omit all that followeth to the Prayer, "We humbly beseech Thee, O Father," etc.*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Omit the rubric immediately after the title, and insert after the word *Prayers* the following rubric:—

¶ *To be used before the General Thanksgiving at Morning and Evening Service; or else before the two final Prayers, if the Office be one in which the General Thanksgiving hath not its usual place.*

Place the following rubric after the Prayer for Congress:—

¶ *If during the session of Congress the Legislature be also in session there may be added after the words, "in Congress assembled," the words, "and for the Legislature of this State now convened." If Congress be not in session, there may be substituted for the words, "these United States," the words, "this State;" and for the words, "Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled," the words, "Legislature now convened."*

Transfer the *Prayer to be used at Meetings of Convention* to a place immediately after the *Prayer for Congress*; omit the words "and presence" in the sentence "we beseech thee to be present with the Council of thy Church here assembled in thy name and presence;" and "present" before "work," and alter the rubric appended to it, so that it shall read:—

¶ *During or before the session of any General or Diocesan Convention, the above Prayer may be used by all Congregations of this Church, or of the Diocese concerned; the clause "here assembled" being changed to "now assembled," or "about to assemble;" and the clause "govern us in our work," to "govern them in their work."*

Introduce among the *Prayers* the following, arranging them in the order observed:—

For a Person, or Persons, on a Journey.

O God, who art present in all places, and who hast shown us in thy holy Word that though we dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth, even there thy right hand shall hold us; Preserve, we beseech thee, thy servant now journeying, whom we especially commend to thine Almighty protection. Guard *him* by thy good providence from sickness, and from all the dangers of the way; deliver *him* from the temptations to which *he* may be exposed, and conduct *him* in safety to the place where *he* would be, with a grateful sense of thy mercies; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For Persons preparing for Confirmation.

O Lord God, giver of heavenly increase, who by thy Spirit's might dost confirm the first efforts of feeble souls; Encourage in the hearts of these thy children every good intent, and carry them from strength to strength. Cleanse their consciences, and stir their wills gladly to serve thee the living God. Leave no room in them for spiritual wickedness, no lurking-place for secret sins: but so establish and sanctify them by the power of thy holy Word, that evermore taking heed unto the thing that is right, and speaking and doing the truth, they may find godliness their gain both in the life which now is, and in that which is to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For all who are dependent on the Public Care.

Most gracious God, whose tender mercies are over all thy works, and whose compassions fail not; We commend to thy fatherly pity and protection the poor, the sick, the children, the prisoners, dependent on the public care. Suffer us not, in our prosperity, to trust in riches, forgetful that we are bidden to be labourers together with thee; but give unto us, and unto this whole people, grace to show kindness and mercy toward these whom thy dear Son hath vouchsafed to call his brethren. Grant this, O Father, through the same thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

For Missions.

O God, who hast made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth, and didst send thy blessed Son to preach peace to them that are far off and to them that are nigh; Grant that all men everywhere may seek after thee and find thee. Be graciously pleased to multiply and bless the heralds of the Gospel of thy Son, and shortly to accomplish the number of thine elect and to hasten thy kingdom; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For the Increase of the Ministry.

O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst command thy disciples to pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth labourers into his harvest, We beseech thee graciously to increase the number of faithful Ministers of thy Word and Sacraments, and to send them forth among all nations of men; that perishing souls may be saved, and the bounds of thy blessed kingdom be enlarged. We ask it, O merciful Saviour, for the glory of thy Name, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

For Fruitful Seasons.

¶ *To be used on Rogation Sunday, and on the Rogation-days.*
Almighty God, Lord of heaven and earth, in whom we live and move and

have our being, who dost good unto all men, making thy sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sending rain on the just and on the unjust; Favourably behold us thy people who call upon thy Name, and send us thy blessing from heaven in giving us fruitful seasons, and filling our hearts with food and gladness; that both our hearts and mouths may be continually filled with thy praises, giving thanks to thee, in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Or this.*

Almighty God, who hast blessed the earth that it should be fruitful and bring forth everything that is necessary for the life of man, and hast commanded us to work with quietness, and eat our own bread; Bless us in all our labours, and grant us such seasonable weather that we may gather in the fruits of the earth, and ever rejoice in thy goodness, to the praise of thy holy Name; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

In the Prayer *For Fair Weather* insert the word "chastisements" for "punishments."

In the Vacancy of a Cure of Souls.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, to this thy flock a Bishop (or Pastor) in whom shall be the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of wisdom and godliness; that by the faithful work and blameless conversation of him who ministereth unto us in holy things we may be moved more earnestly to seek thee and thy righteousness, through him who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Add to the Prayers the following, placing before them this rubric:—

¶ *These Prayers and Collects may be said after the Collects of Morning and Evening Prayer, and at other fit times, at the discretion of the Minister.*

For the Spirit of Prayer.

O Almighty God, who hast bidden us seek that we may find, and who pourest out on all who desire it, the spirit of grace and of supplication; Deliver us, when we draw nigh to thee, from coldness of heart, and wanderings of mind, that with steadfast thoughts and kindled affections we may worship thee in spirit and in truth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For the Light of God's Truth.

O God, whose Word lighteneth the eyes of the blind; Vouchsafe us, we beseech thee, the light of thy truth; that fashioning our lives with all meekness to the obedience of heavenly wisdom, we may by humility in things temporal attain to the glory of the things eternal; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For the Renewing of the Holy Ghost.

O God, with whom is the well of life, and who hast promised to be to thy people an everlasting light; Increase in us, we beseech thee, the brightness of divine knowledge, impart to our thirsting souls the water of life, and restore to our darkened minds the light from heaven; and this we ask for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

For Patience under Suffering.

Almighty God, whose most dear Son went not up to joy, but first he suf-

fered pain, and entered not into glory before he was crucified; Mercifully grant that we, walking in the way of the Cross, may find it none other than the way of life and peace; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For Grace to speak the Truth in Love.

O God, whose blessed Son came not to strive nor cry, and whose words did fall as the drops that water the earth; Grant that we may contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, but not to the breach of charity or to the denial of any Christian hope; all which we ask through the same, thy Son our Lord. *Amen.*

An Intercession for those who labour in the Gospel.

O Lord, without whom our labour is but lost, and with whom thy little ones go forth as the mighty; We humbly beseech thee to prosper all works in thy Church undertaken according to thy holy will (especially ——) and grant to thy labourers a pure intention, patient faith, sufficient success upon earth, and the blessedness of serving thee in heaven; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

An Intercession for those who err from the Faith.

O Father of lights, who art ever pitiful to the manifold wanderings of the children of men, and who hast given us thy holy Word to be a lantern to our feet amid the darkness of this world; Have compassion upon all who, by denying the Gospel of thy dear Son, have been led far off from peace, and become estranged from prayer; open their hearts to the truth, help them to cast down every proud thought, and make them to become as little children that they may be wise, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

An Intercession for those who live in sin.

Have mercy, heavenly Father, on all who are hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, vouchsafe them grace to come to themselves, the will and the power to return to thee, and the loving welcome of thy forgiveness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for Mercy and Pardon.

O God, whose nature and property is ever to have mercy and to forgive; Receive our humble petitions; and though we be tied and bound with the chain of our sins, yet let the pitifulness of thy great mercy loose us; for the honor of Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

A General Intercession.

O God, at whose word man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening; Be merciful to all whose duties are difficult or burdensome, and comfort them concerning their toil. Shield from bodily accident and harm the workmen at their work. Protect the efforts of sober and honest industry, and suffer not the hire of the labourers to be kept back by fraud. Incline the hearts of employers and of those whom they employ to mutual forbearance, fairness, and good-will. Give the spirit of governance and of a sound mind to all in places of authority. Bless all those who labour in works of mercy and schools of good learning. Care for all aged persons, and all little children, the sick and the afflicted, those who travel by land or by sea, all strangers, and emigrants, and outcasts. Remember all who by reason of weakness are overtasked, or by reason of poverty are forgotten. Let

the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before thee, and according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die. Give ear unto our prayer, O merciful and gracious Father, for the love of thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Morning Prayer.

O God, the King eternal, who dividest the day from the darkness, and turnest the shadow of death into the morning; Drive far off from us all wrong desires, incline our hearts to keep thy law, and guide our feet into the way of peace, that having done thy will with cheerfulness while it was day, we may, when the night cometh, rejoice to give thee thanks; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Morning Prayer.

Almighty God, who alone gavest us the breath of life, and alone canst keep alive in us the holy desires thou dost impart; We humbly beseech thee to sanctify all our thoughts and endeavours, that we may neither begin an action without a pure intention nor continue it without thy blessing. And grant that having the eyes of the mind opened to behold things invisible and unseen, we may in heart be inspired by thy wisdom, and in work be upheld by thy strength, and in the end be accepted of thee as thy faithful servants; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

An Evening Prayer.

O Lord our God, who alone makest us to dwell in safety; Refresh with quiet sleep, this night, those who are wearied with the labours of the day; and mercifully protect from harm all who put their trust in thee; that lying down in peace to take our rest, we may fear no evil, but confidently give ourselves into thy holy keeping; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

An Evening Prayer.

O God, who art the life of mortal men, the light of the faithful, the strength of those who labour, and the repose of the dead; We thank thee for the timely blessings of the day, and humbly supplicate thy merciful protection all this night. Bring us, we beseech thee, in safety to the morning hours; through him who died for us and rose again, thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

For Aid against Perils.

"O Lord our Heavenly Father," etc., as in Evening Prayer.

Insert after the word

Thanksgivings.

the following rubric:

¶ To be used after the General Thanksgiving, at Morning and Evening Service; or else before the two final Prayers, if the Office be one in which the General Thanksgiving hath not its usual place.

In title of first Thanksgiving strike out "The." In the rubric following omit the words "being present in Church." And for "shall have desired" read "desireth."

In the first Thanksgiving strike out "*This woman.*"

Insert the two Thanksgivings under the following titles:

For a Child's Recovery from Sickness.

Almighty God and heavenly Father, We give thee humble thanks for that thou hast been graciously pleased to deliver from *his* bodily sickness the *child* in whose behalf we now desire to bless and praise thy Name, in the presence of all thy people. Grant, we beseech thee, O gracious Father, that *he*, through thy help, may both faithfully walk according to thy will in this life present, and also may be a *partaker* of everlasting glory in the life to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For an Escape from Accident.

O Lord God, in whose hand is the life of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind; We magnify thy goodness in that thou hast been pleased to save from deadly hurt *this thy servant*, who now desireth to offer thee *his* sacrifice of thanks and praise. Give *him* grace, we humbly beseech thee, worthily to spend in thy service the days which thou hast so mercifully prolonged, that henceforth dwelling alway under thy protection *he* may abide in thy love unto *his life's* end; through Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

In Thanksgiving *For a Safe Return from Sea* insert, after "*the great deep*" the words [*his way*], italicising both phrases, and make the title read: *For a Safe Return from Voyage or Travel,*"

A PENITENTIAL OFFICE FOR ASH WEDNESDAY,

to be placed after the *Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions.*

¶ *On the First Day of Lent, at Morning Prayer, the Office ensuing shall be read immediately after the Prayer, "We humbly beseech thee, O Father," in the Litany, and in place of what there followeth.*

¶ *The same Office may be read at other times, at the discretion of the Minister.*

¶ *The Minister and the People kneeling, then shall be said by them the Psalm following.*

Miserere mei, Deus. *Psalm li.

¶ *If the Litany hath been already said in full, the Minister may omit all that followeth, to the Prayer, O Lord, we beseech thee, &c.*

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, etc.

Minister. O Lord, save thy servants.

Answer. That put their trust in thee.

Minister. Send unto them help from above.

Answer. And evermore mightily defend them.

Minister. Help us, O God our Saviour.

Answer. And for the glory of Thy Name deliver us; be merciful to us sinners, for thy Name's sake.

Minister. O Lord, hear our prayer.

Answer. And let our cry come unto thee.

Minister. Let us pray.

O Lord, we beseech thee, mercifully hear our prayers, and spare all those who confess their sins unto thee; that they, whose consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful pardon may be absolved; through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O most Mighty God, and Merciful Father, who hast compassion upon all men, and who wouldest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his sin, and be saved; Mercifully forgive us our trespasses; receive and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our sins. Thy property is always to have mercy; to thee only it appertaineth to forgive sins. Spare us, therefore, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed; enter not into judgment with thy servants, who are vile earth, and miserable sinners; but so turn thine anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileness, and truly repent us of our faults, and so make haste to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the People say this that followeth, after the Minister.*

Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned. Be favourable, O Lord, Be favourable to to thy people, Who turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying. For thou art a merciful God, Full of compassion, Long-suffering, and of great pity. Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, And in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy. Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, And let not thine heritage be brought to confusion. Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, And after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us; Through the merits and mediation of thy blessed Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Minister alone shall say,*

Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit thee. The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, both now and for evermore. *Amen.*

THE PROPER ORDER FOR PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING ON THANKSGIVING DAY, OR HARVEST-HOME.

¶ *To be used yearly on such day as shall be appointed by the Civil or Ecclesiastical Authority.*

¶ *The Minister shall begin by reading certain, or all, of the following Sentences of Scripture.*

(Same as in Standard Prayer Book.)

¶ *Then the Minister shall say,*

O give thanks unto the God of heaven.

Answer. For his mercy endureth for ever.

Minister. O give thanks unto the Lord of lords.

Answer. For his mercy endureth for ever.

¶ *Then, all kneeling down, they shall say together the Thanksgiving.*

Most gracious God, by whose knowledge the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew, We yield thee unfeigned thanks and praise, as for all thy mercies, so especially for the returns of seed-time and harvest, and for crowning the year with thy goodness, in the increase of the ground, and the gathering in of the fruits thereof. And, we beseech thee, give us a just sense of this great mercy; such as may appear in our lives, by an humble, holy and obedient walking before thee all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Minister shall say as followeth:*

Almighty God, Father of all mercies, We thine unworthy servants, do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us, and to all men. We bless thee for our creation, preservation and all the blessings of this life; but above all, for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And, we beseech thee, give us that due sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives; by giving up ourselves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Minister and the People shall together say the Lord's Prayer.*

Minister. We will praise thy Name, O God, with a song.

Answer. And magnify it with thanksgiving.

¶ *Here, all standing up, the Minister shall say,*

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

Minister. Praise ye the Lord.

Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said the following Anthems, with the Gloria Patri.*

Praise ye the LORD; for it is good to sing praises unto our God: for it is pleasant, and praise is comely.

The LORD doth build up Jerusalem; he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.

He healeth those that are broken in heart: and bindeth up their wounds.

He covereth the heaven with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth: he maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains.

He giveth to the beast his food: and to the young ravens which cry.

Praise the LORD, O Jerusalem: praise thy God, O Sion.

For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates: he hath blessed thy children within thee.

He maketh peace in thy borders: and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said Psalm cxlv., or some other Portion of the Psalms.*

¶ Then shall be read for the First Lesson, Deut. viii.

¶ After which shall be sung or said the Hymn Te Deum, the Canticle Benedicite, or else this Psalm.

Jubilate Deo. Psalm c.

¶ Then shall be read for the Second Lesson, 1 Thess. v. 12 to 24.

¶ After which shall be sung or said this Psalm.

Laudate Dominum. Psalm cl.

¶ Then shall the Minister and People say the Apostles' Creed.

¶ And after that, these Prayers following, all devoutly kneeling; the Minister first pronouncing,

Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty.

Answer. Just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints.

Minister. Let us pray.

Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power.

Answer. For thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

¶ Then shall the Minister say these Prayers following.

For a Blessing on the Families of the Land.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who settest the solitary in families, and makest thyself households like a flock of sheep; We commend to thy continual care the homes in which thy people dwell. Put far from them, we beseech thee, every root of bitterness, the desire of vain-glory, and the pride of life. Fill them with faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness. Knit together in constant affection those who in holy wedlock have been made one flesh; turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers; and so kindle charity among us all, that we be evermore kindly-affectioned with brotherly love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For the Country.

Almighty God, who in the former time leddest our fathers forth into a wealthy place, and didst set their feet in a large room, Give thy grace, we humbly beseech thee, to us their children, that we may alway approve ourselves a people mindful of thy favour and glad to do thy will. Bless our land with honourable industry, sound learning and pure manners. Defend our liberties, preserve our unity. Save us from violence, discord and confusion, from pride and arrogancy, and from every evil way. Fashion into one happy people the multitude brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Endue with the spirit of wisdom those whom we entrust in thy name with the authority of governance, to the end that there be peace at home, and that we keep our place among the nations of the earth. In the time of our prosperity, temper our self-confidence with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in thee to fall; all which we ask for Jesus Christ's sake *Amen.*

For the Unity of God's People.

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, the Prince of Peace; Grant to all Christian people grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and preju-

dice, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord: that, as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all, so we may all henceforth become of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

For all Poor, Homeless and Neglected Folk.

O God, Almighty and merciful, who healest those that are broken in heart, and turnest the sadness of the sorrowful to joy; Let thy fatherly goodness be upon all that thou hast made. Especially we beseech thee to remember in pity such as are this day destitute, homeless, or forgotten of their fellow-men. Bless the congregation of thy poor. Uplift those who are cast down, mightily befriend innocent sufferers, and sanctify to them the endurance of their wrongs. Cheer with hope all discouraged and unhappy people, and by thy heavenly grace preserve from falling those whose penury tempteth them to sin. Though they be troubled on every side, suffer them not to be distressed; though they be perplexed, save them from despair. Grant this, O Lord, for the love of him, who for our sakes became poor, thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

The everlasting Father bless us with his blessing everlasting. *Amen.*

Collect, Epistle and Gospel for Thanksgiving day as in Standard Prayer Book.

A SHORT OFFICE OF PRAYER FOR SUNDRY OCCASIONS,

[To be placed next after *The Proper Order for Prayer and Thanksgiving on Thanksgiving-day.*]

¶ *This Office may be used at Noon-day Services, Missionary Meetings, the Visitation of Families and Neighborhoods, the Catechising of Children in Churches or Schools, and on other like occasions, for which no special Order of Prayer hath been appointed.*

¶ *The Minister shall begin the Office by reading one or more of the following Sentences of Scripture: or he may say, instead thereof, any of the Sentences elsewhere set forth in this Book.*

O how amiable are thy dwellings, thou LORD of hosts! My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the LORD; my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God. *Psalms lxxxiv. 1, 2.*

One thing have I desired of the LORD, which I will require, even that I may dwell in the house of the LORD all the days of my life, to behold the fair beauty of the LORD, and to visit his temple. *Psalms xxvii. 4.*

The LORD, even the most mighty God, hath spoken, and called *Missions.* the world, from the rising up of the sun unto the going down thereof. *Psalms l. 1.*

Tell it out among the heathen, that the LORD is King. *Psalms xcvi. 10.*

Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to har-

vest. And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal. *St. John* iv. 85, 86.

Peace be both to thee, and peace be to thine house, and peace be unto all that thou hast. *1 Sam.* xxv. 6.

Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, *In private houses.* there am I, in the midst of them. *St. Matt.* xviii. 20.

Come, ye children, and hearken unto me; I will teach you the *Catechising-fear of the LORD.* *Psalms* xxxiv. 11.

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. *Eccles.* xii. 1.

Trust in the LORD with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths. *Prov.* iii. 5, 6.

¶ *Then the Minister and the People kneeling down shall say the Lord's Prayer, the Minister first pronouncing*

Let thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us.

Answer. Like as we do put our trust in thee.

Minister. Let us pray.

Our Father, etc.

¶ *Then likewise he shall say,*

O LORD, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

¶ *Here, all standing up, the Minister shall say,*

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world with out end. Amen.

Minister. Praise ye the LORD.

Answer. The LORD's name be praised.

¶ *Then shall be said or sung a Psalm, or one of the Selections of Psalms.*

¶ *Then shall be read a Lesson of Holy Scripture. And, after that, shall be sung a Hymn, an Anthem, or a Canticle.*

¶ *Then may be said the Apostles' Creed as followeth:*

¶ *Then shall the Minister bid them to prayer, saying.*

The LORD be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Minister. Let us pray.

O LORD, show thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation.

Minister. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Answer. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

¶ *Then shall follow the Collect for the day, together with such other Prayers, elsewhere set forth in this Book, as the Minister, in his discretion, shall think fit, all devoutly kneeling.*

¶ *And after the Prayers, the Minister shall say,*

The Almighty and merciful God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, bless and preserve us, now and for evermore. Amen.

THE COLLECTS, EPISTLES, AND GOSPELS TO BE USED THROUGH- OUT THE YEAR.

Insert after the general title, the following rubric:

¶ *The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, appointed for the Sunday, shall serve all the Week after, where it is not in this Book otherwise ordered.*

Place the new Collect, Epistle and Gospel after the old and insert between the two this rubric:

¶ *Or the Collect, Epistle and Gospel that followeth may be used.*

O God, who makest us glad with the yearly remembrance of the birth of thine only Son, Jesus Christ; Grant that as we joyfully receive him for our Redeemer, so we may with sure confidence behold him, when he shall come to be our Judge, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, One God, world without end. Amen.

The Epistle, Heb. ii. 14-18.

The Gospel, St. Luke ii. 12-21.

Insert immediately after the Gospel for *Christmas-day*, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for *St. Stephen's Day*, *St. John the Evangelist's Day*, *the Innocents' Day*, omitting them from their present place, and putting after the Collect for *St. Stephen's Day* the following rubric:

¶ *Then shall follow one of the Collects of the Nativity, which shall be said continually until the feast of Circumcision.*

And after the Gospel for the *Innocents' Day* the following rubric:

¶ *If there be any more days before the Sunday after Christmas-day, The Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for Christmas-day shall serve for them.*

Insert after *The Gospel* for *The Epiphany*, this rubric:—

¶ *The same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall serve for every day after, until the next Sunday.*

Add to the rubric after *The Collect* for *Ash Wednesday*, the following words, *until the Sunday before Easter*.

Omit the second rubric after *The Collect* for *Ash Wednesday*, and the prayers that follow it.

Insert after *The Gospel* for *Ash Wednesday*, the following rubric:—

¶ *The same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall serve for every day after, until the next Sunday, except upon the Feast of St. Matthias.*

Insert after *The Collect* for *The Sunday next before Easter*, the following rubric:—

¶ *This Collect shall be said continually, after the Collect for the day, until Good Friday.*

Insert before the Epistles for the respective days—*Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday before Easter*, the following Collects:

MONDAY BEFORE EASTER.

Almighty and Everlasting God, Grant us so to celebrate the mysteries of our Lord's Passion, that we, obtaining pardon through his precious Blood, may come with joy to the commemoration of that sacrifice by which thou hast been pleased to redeem us; through the same thy Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

TUESDAY BEFORE EASTER.

O Lord God, whose blessed Son, our Saviour, gave his back to the smiters, and did not hide his face from shame; Grant us grace to take joyfully the sufferings of the present time, in full assurance of the glory that shall be revealed; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

WEDNESDAY BEFORE EASTER.

Merciful Father, give us grace that we never presume to sin through the example of a fellow creature; but if we be led at any time to offend thy Divine Majesty, vouchsafe us to repent with Peter, rather than to despair with Judas, so that by a godly sorrow and a lively faith we may obtain remission of our sins; through the only merits of thy Son, Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THURSDAY BEFORE EASTER.

Almighty Father, whose dear Son did, in the Garden of Gethsemane, accept the cup thou gavest him to drink, that so he might taste death for every man; Mercifully grant that we to whom he ministers the cup of blessing may thankfully receive it in remembrance of him, and show our Lord's death till he come; who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

After the title **EASTER-DAY** omit the rubric and Anthems, and after the Gospel add the alternate Collect, Epistle, and Gospel as follows:

¶ *Or the Collect, Epistle and Gospel that followeth may be used:*

O God, who for our redemption didst give Thine only begotten Son to the death of the Cross; and by His glorious resurrection hast delivered us from the power of our enemy; Grant us so to die daily from sin, that we may evermore live with Him in the joy of His resurrection, through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

The Epistle, 1 Thess. iv. 13-18.

The Gospel, St. Mark, xvi. 1-8.

After the titles **MONDAY IN EASTER-WEEK**, and **TUESDAY IN EASTER-WEEK**, substitute for the present *Collect*, the following Collects:

MONDAY IN EASTER-WEEK.

The Collect.

O God, who hast called us to be children of the resurrection and hast made

us citizens of the Jerusalem which is above; Grant that whensoever in the dimness of this life present, our eyes are holden that we see thee not, our hearts may always be attentive to thy holy Word, and burn within us, as it is opened by thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

TUESDAY IN EASTER-WEEK.

The Collect.

O, Holy Jesus, who by the travail of thy soul, hast made a people to be born out of every kindred and nation and tongue; Grant that all those who are called into the unity of thy Church to be the children of God by the washing of regeneration, may have one faith in their hearts, and one law of holiness in their lives, through thy merits who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

After *The Gospel* for *The Ascension Day*, insert the following rubric:—

¶ *The same Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall serve for every day after unto the next Sunday, except upon the Feast of St. Philip and St. James.*

After the title WHITSUN-DAY, insert the following alternative, *The Collect, Epistle and Gospel.*

¶ *Or the Collect, Epistle and Gospel that followeth may be used:*

The Collect.

O God, Holy Ghost, who, as on this day, didst descend in the likeness of fiery tongues, bringing to the Church the promise of the Father in the gift of power; Take away all vices from our hearts, and fill us with all wisdom and spiritual understanding. Grant this, O blessed Spirit, who, with the Father and the Son, livest and reignest, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The Epistle, 1 Cor. ii. 9-16.

The Gospel, S. Luke xii. 8-12.

After the titles MONDAY IN WHITSUN-WEEK and TUESDAY IN WHITSUN-WEEK, substitute for the present *Collect* the following:

MONDAY IN WHITSUN-WEEK.

The Collect.

O, Lord Jesus Christ, who didst send from the Father the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth; Grant that he may enlighten our minds with the teaching of thy truth, and sanctify our hearts with the power of thy grace, so that evermore abiding in thee we may be found steadfast in faith and holy in life, being conformed unto thine image, who art, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

TUESDAY IN WHITSUN-WEEK.

The Collect.

O God, the light and life of all believers; grant that they whom the Holy Ghost hath made thy children by adoption and grace, loving thee without lukewarmness, and confessing thy faith without dissension, may obtain that

peace which our Lord Jesus Christ promised to all those who truly love him, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Substitute for the title **THE TWENTY-FIFTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY**, the title, *The Sunday next before Advent.*

Insert immediately after the Gospel for the feast of *St. James the Apostle*, *The Collect, Epistle and Gospel* for **THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST.**

The Collect.

O God, who on the Mount didst reveal to chosen witnesses thine only-begotten Son wonderfully transfigured in raiment white and glistening; Mercifully grant that we, being delivered from the disquietude of this world, may be permitted to behold the King in his beauty, who with Thee, O Father, and thee, O Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The Epistle, 2 St. Peter i., 13-18.

The Gospel, St. Luke ix., 28-36.

THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION.

In the last two lines of the second rubric, for the words that follow the word *ordinary*, substitute the words *within fourteen days after, at the farthest.*

Omit the doxology from the Lord's Prayer.

Omit from the rubric immediately before the Decalogue the words *as followeth*, and add the following rubric:—

¶ *When more than one Celebration of the Holy Communion is had in a Church on the same day, the saying of the Decalogue may be omitted at the earlier service, provided the whole Office be used once on that day. But, Note, That whenever the Decalogue is omitted, the Summary of the Law shall be used, beginning, Hear what our Lord Jesus Christ saith.*

In the rubric after the Prayer beginning "O Almighty Lord, and everlasting God," etc., substitute for the words, *Then shall be read the Gospel (the People all standing up), saying, the words, Then, the People all standing up, he shall read the Gospel, saying.*

For the rubric,

¶ *Here the people shall say,*
substitute the rubric.

¶ *Here shall be said or sung.*

After "Glory be to thee, O Lord," insert

¶ *And after the Gospel.*

Thanks be to thee, O Lord.

For the rubric ¶ *Then shall be read the Apostles', or Nicene Creed, etc.*, substitute the following rubric, placing after it the *Nicene Creed*.

¶ *Then, unless one of them hath been used immediately before in the Morning Prayer, shall be said the Apostles' Creed, or this that followeth.*

Add to the rubric before the Offertory Sentences, the words *And Note, that these sentences may be used on any other occasion of Public Worship, when the alms of the People are to be received.*

Add to the Offertory Sentences certain portions of 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12, 14.

Thine, O LORD, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O LORD, and thou art exalted as head above all.

Both riches and honor come of thee, and of thine own have we given thee.— 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12, 14.

Add to the rubric which follows the Offertory Sentences these words,—*And when the Alms are presented, there may be sung or said an Offertory Anthem.*

Transfer the rubric which follows *The Prayer for the Church Militant*, together with the two exhortations beginning respectively, "Dearly beloved, on ——day next I purpose," and "Dearly beloved brethren, on —— I intend," to a place at the end of the Office.

Add to the rubric before the Exhortation, beginning "Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye who mind, etc.," the words, *But, Note, That the Exhortation may be omitted if it hath been already said on one Lord's Day in that same month.*

Make the Triumphal Hymn, commonly called the "Ter-sanctus," a distinct paragraph, omitting the words *and People* from the preceding rubric, and adding a side-rubric:

Therefore, with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy holy name; evermore praising Thee, and saying

HOLY, HOLY, HOLY, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High. Amen. ¶ *Priest and People,*

Make the *Invocation* in *The Prayer of Consecration* a distinct paragraph as is now done in the case of the *Oblation*.

In the *Prayer of Consecration*, change "we and all others who" to "whosoever."

Change the rubric after *The Prayer of Consecration*, so that it shall read:

¶ *Here may be sung a Hymn.*

Amend the last clause of the rubric before the *Gloria in excelsis*, so that it shall read, or some other *Hymn*.

Insert the five *Collects*, formerly at the end of the Service, immediately after the blessing with the title:—

¶ *Collects to be said before the Benediction, or as occasion may require.*

In the last rubric but one, at the end of the Office, substitute for the word *if* the word *though*.

In the last line of the next rubric, substitute "consume" for "eat and drink."

Insert after the last rubric, additional rubrics in the words following:—

¶ *There shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion.*

¶ *And even though there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Holy Communion, yet there shall be no celebration, except there be three (or two at the least) to communicate with the Priest.*

THE MINISTRATION OF PUBLIC BAPTISM OF INFANTS TO BE USED IN THE CHURCH.

Add to the rubric immediately before the first Exhortation the words, *the People all standing until the Lord's Prayer*.

Alter the first sentence of the rubric before the Gospel, so that it shall read:—

¶ *Then the Minister shall say as followeth: or else shall pass immediately to the questions addressed to the Sponsors.*

Print the *Amen* at the end of *The Prayer* "Almighty and everlasting God, heavenly Father, etc.," in Roman type, to indicate that the Prayer is to be said by Minister and People, and also make the corresponding change in the Office of Adult Baptism.

THE MINISTRATION OF PRIVATE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN IN HOUSES.

Omit from the first rubric all after the word *Children*, and the word "like" in the second.

Change the wording of the First Prayer of Thanksgiving, so that what follows the words "incorporate him into thy holy Church," shall read:

And we humbly beseech thee to grant, that as *he is* now made *partaker* of the death of thy Son, so *he* may be also of his resurrection; and that finally, with the residue of thy Saints, *he* may inherit thine everlasting kingdom; through the same thy son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

In the rubric after the Thanksgiving, insert between the words *in which case* and the words *he shall say* the words *all standing*, and add to the form of certification which follows the rubric the words:

Who *is* now by Baptism incorporated into the Christian Church: for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny his grace and mercy unto such Infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto him, as the holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort.

Omit from the second form of certification the words *on this wise*, and from the rubric that follows it the words *or else shall pass on to the questions addressed to the Sponsors.*

THE MINISTRATION OF BAPTISM TO SUCH AS ARE OF Riper YEARS, AND ABLE TO ANSWER FOR THEMSELVES.

After the second rubric insert the words,

Hath this person been already Baptized, or no?

Adding to the said rubric the words, *And standing there, the Minister shall say.*

Omit the third rubric, and add after the question, "Hath this Person, etc.," the rubric:—

If they answer, No; then shall the Minister (the People all standing until the Lord's Prayer) proceed as followeth:

In the closing Exhortation change "representeth" to "doth represent."

THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION, OR LAYING ON OF HANDS
UPON THOSE WHO ARE BAPTIZED AND COME TO YEARS
OF DISCRETION.

Change the first rubric so that it shall read as follows: .

¶ Upon the day appointed, all that are to be then confirmed, being placed and standing in order before the Bishop, sitting in his chair near the Holy Table, he, or some other Minister appointed by him, may read this Preface following, the People standing until the Lord's Prayer.

After the Preface insert as follows:—

¶ Then the Bishop, or some Minister appointed by him, may say,

Hear the words of the Evangelist St. Luke, in the eighth Chapter of the Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

Add the passage *Acts viii. 12-17*.

Insert a form for presenting the Candidates to the Bishop, as follows:—

¶ Then the Minister shall present unto the Bishop those who are to be confirmed, and shall say:

Reverend Father in God. I present unto you these *Children* [or these *Persons*] to receive the Laying on of Hands.

The Bishop. Take heed that the *Children* [or *Persons*] whom ye present unto us be sufficiently instructed in the principles of Christ's religion, and that they be minded to fear God and keep his Commandments.

¶ The Minister shall answer,

I have examined them, and think them so to be.

[¶ Or, if certain of them have been examined by another than himself, he shall say,

I have examined them, or have enquired concerning them, and think them so to be.]

Insert after the presentation of the Candidates and before the present Question and Answer, three questions upon the baptismal vows, with answers, preceded by the following rubric:—

¶ Then shall the Bishop demand of those who are to be confirmed these questions following, but he may at his discretion pass to the last one of the said questions.

The Bishop.

Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the sinful desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow nor be led by them?

Answer. I renounce them all.

The Bishop.

Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord? And that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; that he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; that he descended into hell, and also rose again the third day; that he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead?

And dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the Forgiveness of sins; the Resurrection of the body; and the Life everlasting?

Answer. I do believe.

The Bishop.

Wilt thou obediently keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?

Answer. I will, by God's help.

Before "here" in final question insert "*then.*" Three times for "*Answer*" read "*People.*" Print "*Amen*" in italics.

After the Prayer "Almighty and ever-living God," insert the rubric:

¶ Then may be sung a Hymn.

Before the Blessing insert,

¶ Or this.

Finally O Lord, we beseech thee that we being saved and defended in all dangers, spiritual and bodily, and being kept from all sin and wickedness and from our spiritual enemy and from everlasting death, may diligently serve thee here with a meek and quiet spirit and receive the inheritance of everlasting rest in thy kingdom, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost we ascribe all blessing and honour and glory and power, now and evermore *Amen.*

After the final Blessing insert the rubric:—

¶ The Minister shall not omit earnestly to move the Persons confirmed to come without delay to the Lord's Supper.

After the rubric at the end of the Office put the rubric,

¶ This Office may be used alone, or as the Bishop, in his discretion, may appoint.

THE FORM OF SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY.

In the Exhortation for "St. Paul" read "in Holy Scripture."

THE ORDER FOR THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

Insert after The Prayer for a Sick Child, the three Prayers following, entitled,

For the Aged.

O Lord God, who hast made the days of man as a span long, and his age even as nothing in respect of thee; Grant, we beseech thee, unto this thy servant, repentance and pardon for all the transgressions which *he* hath committed against thee, and make *him* to spend whatever of *his* life remaineth, in thy love and holy fear. Accept, we beseech thee, *his* prayers and services, though they be imperfect by reason of his bodily weakness, and finally, by the grace of thy Holy Spirit so strengthen *him* that *he* may continue thine forever, and, in thine appointed time, be received into eternal rest through the merits of Jesus Christ, our blessed Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen.*

In Time of great bodily Danger or Distress.

O God, our refuge and strength, who art a very present help in trouble, look graciously, we most humbly beseech thee, upon this thy servant, and send *him* patience and comfort in this time of *his* great distress. Strengthen *him*, O blessed Lord, with the consolations of thy Holy Spirit, and lay not more upon *him* than thou wilt enable *him* to bear, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

In Prolonged Sickness.

O Lord, who art the God of patience and consolation; strengthen, we beseech thee, this thy servant in the inner man, that *he* may without mourning and repining bear whatever thou layest upon *him*. Let not any pain or passion discompose the order and decency of *his* thoughts and duty. Let *him* never charge thee foolishly nor offend thee by impatience of spirit. Make thou all *his* bed in his sickness. Let *him* with meekness safely and peaceably pass through this vale of misery and of the shadow of death. Give *him* such a sense of thy fatherly love to *him* and care over *him*, under this *his* sore affliction, as may make *him* heartily love thee, and entirely confide in thee, and wholly resign both soul and body to thy wise disposal. Help *him*, in remembrance of thy past loving-kindness, so to trust in thy goodness, to submit to thy wisdom, and meekly to bear what thou layest upon *him*, that *he* may be brought to say at the last, It was good for me that I was in trouble. Grant this measure of grace unto this thy servant for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

Insert after The Prayer for a Sick Person when there appeareth but small hope of recovery, the Prayers entitled Short Prayers with the Dying.

Short Prayers with the Dying.

God the Father, who hath created thee; God the Son, who hath redeemed thee; God the Holy Ghost, who hath poured his grace upon thee, assist thee in all thy trial, and lead thee the way to everlasting peace. *Amen.*

God grant thou mayest behold thy blessed Saviour in the state of glory. *Amen.*

God grant thy death may be precious in his sight in whom thou art to rest forever. *Amen.*

Jesus Christ that redeemed thee with his agony and precious death, have mercy on thee, and strengthen thee in the agony of death. *Amen.*

Jesus Christ, that rose again, the third day, from death, raise thee, body and soul, in the resurrection of the just. *Amen.*

Jesus Christ, that ascended into heaven, thither bring thee, whither he himself hath gone before, to the Paradise of bliss. *Amen.*

Into thy merciful hands, O heavenly Father, we commend the soul of thy servant, now departing from the body. Acknowledge, we meekly beseech thee, a sheep of thine own fold, a lamb of thine own flock, a sinner of thine own redeeming. Receive *him* into the arms of thy mercy, into the blessed rest of everlasting peace, into the glorious estate of thy chosen saints in heaven. O most merciful Jesus, that thing cannot perish which is committed to thy charge; Receive, we beseech thee, his spirit in peace. *Amen.*

THE COMMUNION OF THE SICK.

Add to the first rubric the words, *the Minister first pronouncing.*

O praise the LORD, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people.

For his merciful kindness is ever more and more toward us: and the truth of the LORD endureth forever. Praise the LORD.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. *Amen.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Christ have mercy upon us.

Lord have mercy upon us.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy Spirit.

Let us pray.

In the first rubric for "two" read "one."

Insert between the second and third of the rubrics after *The Gospel* the following rubric and order:—

¶ *In the times of contagious sickness or disease, or when extreme weakness renders it expedient, the following form shall suffice:*

The Collect, Epistle and Gospel.

"Ye who do truly," etc.

The Confession and the Absolution.

The Prayer of Consecration, ending with these words,—*"partakers of his most blessed body and blood."*

The Communion.

"Our Father," etc.

The Benediction.

After last rubric insert:—

¶ *This Office may be used with aged and bedridden persons or such as are not able to attend the public ministration in Church, substituting the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for the Day for those appointed as above.*

THE ORDER FOR THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

Insert immediately after the Lesson the following rubric:—

¶ *Here may be sung a Hymn or an Anthem; and, at the discretion of the Minister, the Creed, and such fitting Prayers as are elsewhere provided in this Book, may be added.*

At the end of "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time," etc., add "Amen."

In last rubric for "some standing by" read "the Minister or some one appointed by him."

In The Sentence of Committal; change "deceased brother" to "brother departed," and add "Amen" at close.

At the end of the Office put the following rubric:—

¶ *Inasmuch as it may sometimes be expedient to say under shelter of the Church the whole or a part of the service appointed to be said at the Grave, the same is hereby allowed for weighty cause.*

Append to the Office the special Form of Committal Sentence provided for the Burial of the Dead at Sea, and at present included in the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, prefacing the same with a proper rubric.

AT THE BURIAL OF THEIR DEAD AT SEA.

¶ *In the sentence of Committal, instead of these words [Forasmuch as it hath pleased, etc.] say,*

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, in his wise providence, to take out of this world the soul of our *Brother* departed, we therefore commit *his* body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body (when the sea shall give up her dead), and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who at his coming shall change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.

AT THE BURIAL OF INFANTS AND YOUNG CHILDREN.

¶ *The Office shall be as usual, save that the following alternative forms may be used, at the discretion of the Minister.*

¶ *For the Sentences.*

In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not. *St. Matt. ii. 18.*

Thus saith the LORD: Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy. And there is hope in thine end, saith the

LORD, that thy children shall come again to their own border. *Jer. xxxi. 16, 17.*

Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. *St. Luke xviii. 16.*

They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. *Rev. vii. 16, 17.*

Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in Heaven. *St. Matt. xviii. 10.*

And they shall see his face; and his Name shall be in their foreheads. *Rev. xxii. 4.*

¶ *For the Psalm.*

Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O LORD: Lord, hear my voice.

O let thine ears consider well: the voice of my complaint.

If thou, LORD, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss: O Lord, who may abide it?

For there is mercy with thee: therefore shalt thou be feared.

I look for the LORD; my soul doth wait for him: in his word is my trust.

My soul fleeth unto the Lord: before the morning watch, I say, before the morning watch.

O Israel, trust in the LORD, for with the LORD there is mercy: and with him is plenteous redemption.

And he shall redeem Israel: from all his sins.

Like as a father pitieth his own children: even so is the LORD merciful unto them that fear him.

For he knoweth whereof we are made: he remembereth that we are but dust.

The days of man are but as grass: for he flourisheth as a flower of the field.

For as soon as the wind goeth over it, it is gone: and the place thereof shall know it no more.

The LORD is my shepherd: therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture: and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.

He shall convert my soul: and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness, for his Name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff comfort me.

¶ *For the Lesson.*

The Portion of Scripture appointed for the Epistle for Innocents' Day.

¶ *Or this.*

Rev. xxi. (To be printed in full.)

¶ *For the Sentence of Committal.*

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, our heavenly Father, to take

away the soul of this child, from the evil to come, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. *Amen.*

¶ *For the Anthem.*

He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom.

¶ *For the Prayers.*

Our Father, etc.

Most merciful Father, who hast hastened to take this child's soul unto thyself; Grant to us who are still in our pilgrimage, and who walk as yet by faith, that having served thee with constancy on earth, we may be joined hereafter with thy blessed children in glory everlasting; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O Lord Jesus Christ, who by thy death didst take away the sting of death; Grant unto us thy servants so to follow in faith where thou hast led the way, that we may at length fall asleep peacefully in thee, and awaking up after thy likeness find ourselves satisfied with it; through thy mercy who livest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

The God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*

¶ *Or this.*

The God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

THE CHURCHING OFFICE.

Alter the third rubric so that it shall read:—

¶ *Then shall be said by both of them the following Hymn, the woman still kneeling:*

THE FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED AT SEA.

Omit the first rubric, and *The Collect* which follows the first Prayer.

Put at the beginning, the Prayer entitled, *For Merchantmen.*

For Merchantmen.

O God, who holdest the sea in the hollow of thy hand, and who orderest our ways and works in wisdom far beyond all we could direct for ourselves, so manifesting thy fatherly care, and the mercy which is thy delight; Keep us thy servants, we beseech thee, wheresoever we may be, and grant that at all times,

and in all places of thy dominion, we may always dispose our souls and our bodies in submission to thy holy will. More especially we ask for thy protection while we voyage upon the sea. Save and defend us in all perils, and may the substance and treasure entrusted to this ship be guarded from harm and loss. Bless, with us, all who travel on the great deep upon lawful occasions. Give us a safe and speedy arrival into port, and final acceptance in the haven of eternal rest, through our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Insert title *For Ships of War*, after the Prayer *For Merchantmen*.

Insert in the title, *Prayers to be used in storms at sea*, after the word *used* the words *in all ships*.

Group separately the Prayers that have reference to a storm, and those that have reference to the enemy, transferring the Lord's Prayer to a place immediately after the Absolution, and prefacing it with the rubric.

¶ *Then shall they say together the Lord's Prayer.*

Arrange under distinct headings the forms belonging to *Thanksgiving after a Storm* and *Thanksgiving after Victory*.

Append to the Forms the following rubric:—

¶ *At the Burial of their Dead at Sea, the Burial Office elsewhere appointed in this Book may be used; but Note, That, in such case, the Sentence of Committal shall be pronounced in the form set forth at the end of the said Office.*

THE VISITATION OF PRISONERS.

Change the wording of the second rubric, so that it shall read:—

¶ *And when notice is given to the Minister, that a Prisoner is confined for some crime, he shall visit him; and when he cometh into the place where the Prisoner is, he shall say as followeth, or else pass directly to the Exhortation.*

Omit the words *Minister* and *Answer* from before the Versicles that follow the Lord's Prayer.

For The Collect after the Versicles, substitute The Collect, "O God, whose nature and property, etc.," and place the latter [together with the Prayer, "O God, who sparest when we deserve punishment,"] after the Psalm *Miserere*, the two to be preceded by the following rubric:—

¶ *Here the Minister, as he shall see convenient, may read certain or all of these Prayers, following, the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, or any other Prayer which he shall judge proper.*

Change the wording of the second rubric after the Creed, so that it shall read:—

¶ *Then, all kneeling, the Minister shall say the Fifty-first Psalm of the Psalter, Miserere mei, Deus.*

And omit the printing of the *Miserere*.

Change the title, *Prayer for Persons under Sentence of death*, to *A Form of Prayer for Persons under Sentence of Death*, and omit from the rubric that follows the title the words "*immediately after the Collect, O God, who sparrest,*" etc.

Omit the *Prayer for Imprisoned Debtors*.

Change the rubric after the Blessing, so that it shall read:

¶ *At the time of Execution, the Minister shall use such devotions as he shall think proper.*

And add this,

Notice. *It is judged best that the Criminal should not make any public profession or declaration.*

FORMS OF PRAYER TO BE USED IN FAMILIES.

Morning Prayer. Omit the words "And" and "But" at the beginning of the second and third Prayers after the Lord's Prayer.

In the *Prayer for grace to enable us, etc.*, for "excited to our duty" put "incited to our duty."

In the sixth line of the *Prayer For grace to guide and keep us*, for "with" put "in," for "business" read "duties."

Add to the marginal note beginning "*On Sunday Morning, in place of this, say,*" a reference to the following footnote:

This is to be added when the Holy Communion is to be celebrated.

And grant that those of us who are, this day, to receive the blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, may come to those holy mysteries with faith, charity and true repentance, and being filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, may to their great and endless comfort receive remission of their sins and all other benefits of his Passion.

Evening Prayer. Omit the word "And" from *The*

Intercession and in the *Prayer for God's Protection*, change "living and dying" to "living or dying."

Add the following alternative benedictory Prayer:

The Lord bless us and keep us; the Lord make his face to shine upon us and be gracious unto us; the Lord lift up his countenance upon us; and give us peace, both now and evermore. *Amen.*

In the last rubric, substitute for the words *New Testament* the words *Holy Scriptures*.

SELECTIONS OF PSALMS,

having been otherwise provided for, be omitted, and that a Table of Selections and a Table of Proper Psalms be substituted in their stead, being the same as the Tables under the heading "How the Psalter is appointed to be read." These Tables being printed immediately before the Psalter.

THE PSALTER.

Instead of the Portions of Psalms to be sung or said at Morning Prayer, instead of the *Venite*, etc., five Proper Anthems for certain Festivals are appointed as follows:—

PROPER ANTHEMS FOR CERTAIN FESTIVALS.

¶ At Morning Prayer, on the Days for which they are appointed, instead of the Psalm, O come let us sing, etc., these Anthems shall be sung or said.

Christmas-day,

St. Luke ii. 10, 11, 14. *Isai.* lli. 7, 8. *Rev.* xix. 6, 7.

Glory to God in the highest: and on earth peace, good-will toward men.

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings: that publisheth peace:

That bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation: that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.

Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy: which shall be to all people.

For unto you is born this day in the city of David: a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.

Let us be glad and rejoice and give thanks: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

Easter-day.

¶ *The same Anthems may also be used for seven days after.*

Rom. vi. 9, 10, 11. 1 Cor. v. 7; xv. 20, 21, 22.

Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast;
Not with the old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness:
but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over him.

For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.

Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin: but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Christ is risen from the dead: and become the first fruits of them that slept.
For since by man came death: by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

For as in Adam all die: even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

Ascension-day,

Psalm xlvii. 1, 2, 5, 6. Psalm xxiv. 7, 8, 9, 10.

O clap your hands together, all ye people: O sing unto God with the voice of melody.

For the LORD is high, and to be feared: he is the great King upon all the Earth.

God is gone up with a merry noise: and the LORD with the sound of the trump.

O sing praises, sing praises unto our God: O sing praises, sing praises unto our King.

Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the King of glory? It is the LORD strong and mighty, even the LORD mighty in battle.

Lift up you heads, O ye gates; and ye be lift up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of glory shall come in.

Who is the king of Glory? Even the LORD of hosts, he is the King of glory.

Whitsun-day.

Psalm xcvi. 1, 2, 6. Rev. xxii. 17.

O come let us sing unto the LORD: let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

For the Spirit and the bride say Come: And let him that is athirst come.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving: and show ourselves glad in him with psalms.

For the Spirit and the bride say Come: And let him that is athirst come.

O come let us worship and fall down: and kneel before the Lord our Maker.

And let him that is athirst come: and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

Trinity Sunday,*Rev. iv. 8, 11 v. 12, 13.*

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty: which was, and is, and is to come.
Thou art worthy, O Lord: to receive glory, and honour, and power.

For thou hast created all things: and for thy pleasure they are and were created.

Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and wisdom, and strength: and honour, and glory, and blessing.

Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne: and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

Before the Psalter print the Tables of Proper Psalms and Selections.

Print the number of the Psalms in common numerals, and at the top of each page, on which a Psalm begins, note the number of said Psalm.

Assign Psalm cxli. to the evening instead of to the morning of the twenty-ninth day of the month.

THE FORM OF CONSECRATION OF A CHURCH OR CHAPEL.

Omit from the title all that follows the word *Chapel*.

In the First Prayer substitute for the words "performance of all other holy offices," the words "ministries of holy worship."

In the second of the six Intercessory Prayers, substitute for the words as they now stand, the words:

Grant, O Lord, that they who at this place shall in their own persons renew the promises and vows of their Baptism, and be confirmed by the Bishop, etc. The rest unchanged.

Supply as alternative first and second Lessons, "Genesis xxviii., at v. 10." "Revelation xxi., at v. 10."

Omit the rubric that follows the Proper Lessons.

In the prayer before the final blessing for "religious performance" read "solemnities."

Insert after the Gospel the rubric.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said this Psalm, Jubilate Deo, Psalm c.*

THE OFFICE OF INSTITUTION OF MINISTERS INTO PARISHES OR CHURCHES.

Omit from the title all that follows the word *Churches*.

In the first rubric substitute for what now follows the words *this Church, may*, the words *proceed to institute him into the Parish*.

In the Bishop's Letter of Institution omit the bracketed words [*or Assistant Minister, as the case may be.*]

Omit the Standing Committee's Letter of Institution, and the rubric that precedes it.

Alter the rubric before the *Proper Psalms*, so that the former portion of it shall read:

¶ *On the day designated for the new Incumbent's Institution, at the usual hour for Morning Prayer, the Bishop, or the Institutor appointed by him, attended by the new Incumbent, and by the other Clergy present, shall enter the Chancel. Then all the Clergy present, standing in the Chancel or Choir, except the Bishop or the Priest who acts as Institutor, who shall go within the rails of the altar; the Wardens, etc.*

In the rubrics which immediately precede and follow the Challenge to show just cause, insert before the words *the Priest*, the words *the Bishop or*.

Omit from the Challenge the words [*or Assistant Minister*].

In the second rubric after the Challenge, omit the words *the Priest who acts as*, and substitute for the words *he shall next read*, the words *then shall be read*.

In the Warden's Presentation of the keys, omit the bracketed [*or Assistant Minister.*]

In the rubric following the Reception of the keys, substitute for the words *Instituting Minister*, the word *Institutor*.

In the rubric following the *Lord's Prayer*, omit the words *Priest who acts as the*, and substitute for the word *State* the word *Diocesan*.

In place of the Anthem *Laudate Nomen* and the rubric prefixed to it, substitute the following:

¶ *Then shall be said or sung Psalm lxxviii. Exurgat Deus, or Psalm xxvi. Judica me. Domine.*

The *Gloria Patri*, and the Versicles that follow it, to be retained as at present.

In the last line of the Prayer, "O God, Holy Ghost, Sanctifier of the Faithful," omit the word "as."

Omit the last clause of the rubric.

THE ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

That the word "all" be restored to its original place between the words "for" and "actual" in Article II.

RECENT LITERATURE.

The Gospel of the Secular Life: Sermons published at Oxford, with a prefatory essay. By the Hon. W. H. Fremantle. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Canon Fremantle is an evangelical Broad Churchman, a mature thinker, a close student of religious movements, and a good reader of the signs of the times. His volume is devoted to the thought which he is perhaps best able to unfold, and is the English counterpart of Mr. Munger's *Freedom of Faith*. The prefatory essay is written in harmony with Prof. J. R. Pesley's *Natural Religion*, which Mr. Fremantle cordially praises, and the real nip of both preface and book is that he has very correctly, though in a style somewhat lacking in vigor, set forth the way in which Christianity is at present affecting our secular life. For lack of intercourse with the spheres and interests of secular life, Christianity, in his opinion, is in danger of neglect, if not of hostility, from without, and of shrivelling up into littleness within. It is this tendency which he has set himself both to explain and correct. He aims not only to reconcile opposing aims, but to show that beneath seeming differences the active workers in present thought are really as one. You may learn quite accurately from this book, so far as a book can express it, in what way Christianity now needs to be presented to men. The scope of the sermons is expressed in the following propositions: The Christian faith is a living sympathy and aspiration which shows itself in many forms and is the spring of a true and healthy life. The Church is a social state in which the Spirit of Christ reigns, and this state appears in many ways both within and without the recognized field of the Church's energy. The Spirit of Christ is supreme over the whole range of the secular life, education, trade, literature, art, science, and politics, and is seen to be prac-

tically vindicating this supremacy. The peculiar privilege of the Church and its members is that of leadership in a work to which all are called, and which is in accordance with the natural order of a true universalism. Criticism is a friend to Christian teaching and piety. Each individual who has the Spirit of Christ is exercising in his own sphere a function or ministry of the Church, on the basis of the theological doctrine of the imminence of God. Intellectual pursuits are harmonized by Christianity, considered as a life. The doctrine of progress in industry and science is also applicable to theology, which must open out to new influences and appropriate them. This is the gist of Canon Fremantle's thought. Its full expression is a little disappointing, but the sermons have considerable fresh thought, and the book is one which no clergyman or thoughtful layman can afford to pass by. There are no merely speculative plans in it. The thinking is honest, sincere, fearless, and devout.

The Freedom of Faith. By Theodore T. Munger. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The fresh religious thinking of our time has not found more emphatic or reverent expression than in the present volume of sermons, nor have any discourses come from a Congregationalist divine since the publication of Dr. Bushnell's *Sermons for the New Life*, which are better fitted to express the religious thought of the age, or go further in giving an affirmative answer to the questions on which men are now seeking light. Dr. Newman Smyth has become a recognized exponent of the return among the Congregationalists to a broader and freer expression of the historical beliefs of the Church; but Mr. Munger takes higher ethical ground, and has given a more complete idea of what truly spiritual religion seeks to be. He writes as one who has been under partial restraint and in some degree of a reaction from beliefs and opinions which in our own communion have never generally prevailed; but while this is a feature of these sermons it is not their prevailing characteristic. They are remarkable for the way in which they deal with the religious life as a whole. They present truth positively, concretely and under the form of

an affirmation of general or universal principles. This is especially seen in the elaborate prefatory essay, in which Mr. Munger lays down the positions which what he calls the new theology is prepared to maintain.

A brief synopsis of these affirmations furnishes the best statement of his belief and of the beliefs of the school of religious thought of which he is one of the leaders. He describes the new theology by the name of the Renaissance, as "a definite movement that attempts to link the truth of the past with the truth of the present in the interest of the Christian faith." He holds that it can justify itself to this faith, and his conviction is that "the total thought of an age ought to have the greatest possible unity; or, in plainer phrase, that its creed ought not to antagonize its knowledge." The positions which he lays down as the principal affirmations of the new theology are these: It claims for itself a somewhat larger and broader use of the reason than has been accorded to theology, on the ground that the logical order is first reason and then revelation—the eye before sight. It seeks to interpret the Scriptures in what may be called a more natural way, and in opposition to a hard, formal, unsympathetic, and unimaginative way. It is not disposed to limit their interpretation by the principle contained in the phrase "the plain meaning of the words." It holds that the Bible, like the order of history, is a continually unfolding revelation of God. The new theology also seeks to replace an excessive individuality by a truer view of the solidarity of the race. It does not deny a real individuality; it does not predicate an absolute solidarity, but simply removes the emphasis from the one to the other. It recognizes a new relation between theology and natural science, looking even upon the external world as a revelation of God, and valuing the truth it may reveal. The new theology offers a contrast to the old in claiming for itself a wider study of man. It attempts to cover the whole of human life. It regards the line often drawn between the sacred and the secular as a line not to be found in Jewish or Christian Scriptures, nor in man's nature. It recognizes the necessity of a restatement of belief in Eschatology, or the doctrine of the last things, and em.

phasizes the use of the word "eternal" as a word of moral and spiritual import, because it puts in their right place and relation the action of all the great processes of the Faith. In regard to the future life, it reaches such conclusions as these: that every human being will have the fullest opportunity for attaining to the end of his creation as a child of God; that every human being will receive from the Spirit of God all the influence impelling to salvation that his nature can endure and retain its moral integrity; and that no human being will be given over to perish while there is a possibility of salvation.

These statements indicate the drift and trend of Mr. Munger's discourses and of the new movement which they represent. The sermons are seventeen in number, and are mainly intended to be illustrative of the positions maintained in the introductory essay. They have some resemblance to Dr. Mozley's *University Sermons*, and are similar in range and spirit to the celebrated sermons which Cardinal Newman once delivered before the University of Oxford on the theory of belief. They illustrate in a practical way the positions taken by Dr. Mulford in his *Republic of God*, and are written in that literary style which makes them not only readable but suggestive. While each one justifies its place in this small collection, those on "The Reception of New Truth," on "Moral Environment," and on "Things to be Awaited" are perhaps as instructive as any, but all of them take rank among the foremost discourses of the day. They may be faulted here and there on the score of advanced opinion, but in ethical spirit and in comprehensive spiritual purpose they constitute an expression of thought which no intelligent person ought to overlook.



Your Bro + Servant in Xt Jesus
F. C. Ewer.

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FERDINAND C. EWER, PRIEST AND DOCTOR.

THE scene in St. Ignatius' Church, in the City of New York, about noon on Saturday, October 13th, 1883, was one of those which make an ineffaceable impression on the memory. Twice already on that day had the faithful and mourning people knelt before the altar, for the "*Celebratio Coenæ Domini in Funebribus, si amici et vicini defuncti communicare velint*,"* and at 11 o'clock, A. M., an immense throng, including upwards of one hundred vested priests, assisted at the final Offices for the Burial of the Dead. Who could have left the place without an impression that something altogether unusual and exceptional had come over our life in the Church? Every hour men die, whose departure is taken as a matter of course; it evokes no feeling beyond the narrow circle in which they lived; a thousand times we have seen the same type, with slight variation; the world and the Church take little heed, and seem no poorer for the loss. But on the occasion now referred to, what reflective person could have

Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, 1560.

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watched the scene without extraordinary emotions? He whose body lay upon that bier, beside which the pale lights flickered, and around which resounded the awful cadence of the *Domine refugium* and the *Dies Irae*, was one among a thousand. His had been a strange, a full, a sad, and a noble life. He was a master in Israel, a prince in the congregation where God standeth; one whose history was interwoven with a most memorable era in the life of our Anglican Communion; one who has left the impress of his consecrated power on the annals of his time. Nor was there lacking the element which gives to such scenes a tender pathos and sets the currents of human sympathy flowing through channels too often dry; the impressive suggestion of an inner sorrow and pain which endear men to that Divine Person who was "acquainted with grief," of patient "sowing in tears," of strife wearing out the combatant ere yet he could "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied." That lifeless frame, stretched in darkness, beneath the cross, and soon to be laid in its own place among the "ruffled cells of death," was all that then remained on earth of one who merited, if ever man deserved it, the title of Soldier of the Cross; who had fought in turn the Spirit of doubting and unbelief, the Time-Spirit, the Spirit of the world; who had striven against the Evil One, as preacher of truth, pastor of the flock, guide of souls, teacher and doctor; who had, as it were, "fought with beasts at Ephesus," enduring hardship, suffering shame and reproof, risking the loss of all things for his convictions, and going down to the place of his rest bruised, battered, scarred, worn-out, prematurely old, passing suddenly away. Such was that remarkable man. I know not what element is lacking for a portrait which might keep his name and memory alive and influential for coming generations in that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church which he loved with all his heart, which he served with all his powers, and in whose communion God granted him a translation to the land of rest.

I have two reasons for not giving this article a merely biographical cast. In the first place, the facts have been told already; they are, perhaps, more widely known than

we think.* But, in the second place, I rejoice to be able to say that a work is in preparation which will give to those who loved and admired him, the full information which they naturally desire to possess. It appears that he has left us one of those precious legacies so thoroughly appreciated in our day, an autobiography, complete to the year when he came to this city as Rector of Christ's Church, and including, of course, the story of the boyhood and youth, the university life, the inner storms and conflicts with skepticism, the career as a journalist, the experiences of the stirring times in San Francisco when he acted with the Vigilance Committee and shared the public peril, the recovery of faith, the earlier work as preacher and priest, while the annals of later years will be compiled from such an ample supply of material as few men leave after them. There is, therefore, no need of a biographical sketch at this time; what we have already is accessible to any inquirer; what is promised will reward the great number who will seek it with avidity on the announcement of its publication. My own task will be to say, briefly, something about the man's work and what it brought to him by way of reward, and about the influence which he has already exerted and will continue to exert among us as one who "being dead, yet speaketh."

We are just come to the semi-centennial of the "Oxford Movement," as it is called; a movement which has powerfully affected the entire Anglican Communion, and given to the world the proof of her vitality as an organic branch of the Catholic Church. The life of Ferdinand C. Ewer lies almost wholly within that half century. To a lively imagination it might appear that he did in a measure reflect the general outlines of the movement in his own career, as if his life had run on with it like a current in a deeper flood. Let us mark the correspondences, which I hope it may not be deemed fanciful to trace.

* In *Frank Leslie's Sunday Magazine* for October, 1888, there is a biographical sketch of the "Rector of S. Ignatius." Originally prepared by a New York journalist for *The Capital* of Washington, D. C., it was carefully revised, and is now vouched for by his family as being "entirely correct in facts and dates, and as rectifying many misstatements formerly made."

The life presents such points of comparison as these:

1stly. The reaction from skepticism.

2dly. The acceptance of the entire Church system as the refuge from doubt and despair.

3dly. The growing appreciation of that system under the influences of study, reflection, and practical experience in the work.

4thly. The personal sacrifice for convictions which provoke and irritate the public and make men "strangers to their brethren and aliens unto their mother's children."

5thly. The patient labor in the Way of the Cross, gradually disarming adversaries and winning men back to their old admiration, if not to their former love.

6thly. The mellowing into a sweetness of spirit which has in it more of the next world than of this, and leads the man to desire, above all else, the knitting together of all God's children into one.

Let me follow this article in a few suggestive illustrations.

We are told, in the historical sketch already published, that after a religious youth, spent under strong influences, he fell into one of those places where the seas meet, and went through a period of agonizing doubt as to whether Christianity itself was true. Through God's grace he bore the trial well, and the noble mind and beautiful soul were saved, giving us another instance to add to those already in our possession, of the power of Religion to rule the noblest intellects, to calm spirits the most perturbed. Now it may be remembered that the great awakening in the Mother Church came to men in some such state of distraction or, at least, threatened by the adversaries of light and peace. The Evangelical school having fulfilled a mission in the world, had spent its powers; men needed a different kind of help. It is said that Pusey himself was at one time in danger; that he felt the subtle influence of the German rationalism, and was driven to close study of the foundations of the faith, ere he could recover his peace. Newman also passed through the same fire of temptation. That these men and multitudes with them, ended in accepting the Catholic system in some shape or other, is a fact which helps us to appreciate the great movement, and understand what it did

for human souls. It seems to have been God's appointed method of preparing His people for the storm of doubt and unbelief, which has raged, of late, over so wide an area. We doubt not that the Anglo-Catholic system has under the Divine Providence been the salvation of innumerable souls, who, but for it, must have been drawn into embittered infidelity, or barren agnosticism. His careful study of the evidences of the faith led him back at once to the Church system and fixed him immovably there: so in the great movement men found that if they were to believe, they must believe as Catholics, and act out their faith in their lives. That was a very simple argument, but the justification of its logical correctness is given in the results which ensued. The fruits of faith are piled up magnificently on every hand. We see them in increased devotion and reverence; in the multiplied services; in the more and more frequent celebrations of the Divine Mysteries; in the rebuilding of the altar; the rehabilitation of the priestly character and function; the revived use of confession; the deepening of the life of faith among the people at large; the evoking of religious orders and communities from the crowded ranks of earnest men and women, those who were able to hear the word resolving to rise up and follow the Master; the development of the Ritual of the Church, visible symbol of her profoundest convictions; the vast increase of charitable associations and agencies; the yearning over sinners and the suffering poor; the faith in united prayer; the broadening love of all our brethren, called by whatever name they may be; the longing, not without a dash of hope in it, for the Reunion of Christendom under the one All-Glorious Lord. He, of whom we are musing, once having throttled the grisly shape of Doubt, once having delivered his soul from the thrall of skepticism, once having taken in, with the hold of a clear intellect and with the love of an affectionate heart, the system of the Church, went forward to a just appreciation of his birthright, and to that fuller and deeper knowledge to which the theologian's studies, reverently pursued, are certain to lead, a knowledge "hidden from the wise and prudent" of this present world, and revealed to the "holy and humble men of heart."

I cannot see, indeed, what but the complete system of the Church could have saved such a man. The antidote to doubt is the revelation of an authority controlling human thought, followed by loyal and loving submission to it. We must have something better to lean on than our own ratiocinations. What shall be thought of a man, who, believing, or at least professing to believe, in the Creation, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Miracles of Christ, and the other inscrutable Mysteries of the Gospel, can give no better account of himself than this: That he has collected the facts, scrutinized the alleged truths with a critical and impartial spirit, submitted them to his own reason, weighed them in the balance of his judgment, and measured them by his foot-rule or yard-stick; that they have passed the ordeal of these tests; and, therefore, on the authority of his own private judgment, he accepts them and holds them to be true? It sounds like an absurdity; I believe there is no such man; I doubt whether he who would give such an account of his faith has any real faith at all. It is time for us to bear our witness, and say where we stand. As for me, I hope I believe as a Catholic; and I know that I believe not one article of my Creed, nor one of those mysteries just enumerated, on the strength of any opinion of my own about them, but simply and solely because they are taught to me by the Holy Catholic Church. There may be, and there are, considerations to strengthen that assent to authority, helps when faith fails, or needs to be increased; but God forbid that I, or any one whom I love, should fall into that helpless state in which the final reason for believing is because it seems to a man to be true.

To resume our reflections: Dr. Ewer, once having regained *terra firma* never left it. Thenceforward he was a Churchman in the fullest sense of that term. He took in the system, with its wealth, its joy, its spiritual force; not at once, but as one who sees more and more of a magnificent prospect as he ascends the upward path. And, as was natural, the wish arose to testify of the grace which had saved him, and to lead others to the Light by which he saw clearly. A youthful desire to enter the ministry revived; it came, when he was prosperous, popular, and influential in

the social and literary atmosphere of San Francisco, and when the world was holding up its prizes in plain view; it mastered lower ambition, and constrained him to leave all and follow Christ. He broke with business connections, applied for Holy Orders, and was ordained in 1857 to the diaconate, and to the priesthood in 1858.

In the year 1860 he came to New York. Public attention was immediately attracted by his extraordinary oratorical powers. To preach well is the certain passport to high places in the metropolis; he had one call after another till he found himself Rector of Christ Church. There was not among us a more popular pastor. Crowds followed him about; they filled the building, to its utmost capacity, whenever he was to be heard. Added to the influence exerted by his brilliant discourses, was that which springs from delightful personal qualities, engaging manners, and great social power. He had been through so much; he had seen so many sides of life; he could tell such strange and wonderful things from his own experience; he understood human nature, and could deal with men of every class; he was always attractive and engaging. One found in him the freshness of Nantucket, his native place, and the fire and young blood of California; he blended in his character the quaintness of the New England coasts, and the dash and drive of the great West; he had completed the curriculum of Harvard; he had toiled a-field as civil engineer; he had been a journalist, and an able one; he knew all sorts and conditions of men; their needs, their thoughts; he was the friend of Edwin Booth, predicting his future fame; he was high in rank in the Masonic Order; he was student, scholar, writer, preacher, genial companion, and now devoted priest. What might not such a man become? No place in the Church seemed too high for him; nor was there obstacle worth naming in the path toward rapid promotion. One must take in all that to appreciate the story, and read, with tears, the moral of that life. Far greater things were yet to be told of him, than those which men tell when testifying of the history of human successes.

There are popular idols which it is death to touch. There are things which no man can say, except he take his life in

his hand. Of old time, the men who dared to speak against Cæsar must speedily away to the lions. In our generation, the martyrdom is done in another manner, but the story, in its leading particulars, reads in the same way. Woe be to him, who, in the very presence of the Philistines, smites Dagon in the face!

I said that he grew, from year to year, in his appreciation of the system of the Church. This progress of thought is clearly indicated in his three memorable works: The Sermons on "*The Failure of Protestantism*," the Conferences on "*Catholicity in its Relations to Romanism and Protestantism*," and the Conferences on "*The Operation of the Holy Spirit*." To these I will add his last gift to us, the pamphlet in reply to the question, "*What is the Anglican Church?*" together with the "*Open Letter on the Catholic Movement*." These four cover the period from 1868 to 1883; and to these must they go who would learn exactly what he held and taught and how he looked on the course of this world and the fortunes of the Church.

The sermons on the Failure of Protestantism* were preached in Christ Church in the year 1868. They cost him a large measure of his popularity, and prepared the way for the more serious loss of his rectorship. The outburst of indignation with which they were received in many quarters might be likened to the sweep of a cyclone. However widely men may differ as to their contents, on one point all must agree; the utterance of such sentiments was the act of a brave and fearless man. I wish that they might now have a fresh and calmer reading; without endorsing everything that they contain, I say that they abound in strong common sense, and give many a needful note of warning. There is no reason for growing angry over these discourses; rather let us honor such dauntless expression of unpopular sentiments, and moreover, let me insist on another point, that whatever may be thought of the force of his objections to that which he assailed, the

* *Sermons on the Failure of Protestantism, and on Catholicity.* By the Rev. Ferdinand C. Ewer, S. T. D., Rector of Christ Church, New York. 4th edition. D. Appleton & Co. 1889.

specific Protestantism of the anti-sacramental, anti-sacerdotal, non-episcopal, and rationalistic type, there is not in all those discourses one word of defense of any distinctively Romish doctrine, or of disloyalty to the Church of which he was a priest.

Dr. Ewer resigned the rectorship of Christ Church in 1871. He might perhaps have retained his place had it not been for this, that he thought it a duty to endeavor to express, in the ritual and ceremony of the Church, the doctrines which we teach as her mouthpiece. In this particular, also, may be traced the analogy between his own career and the Oxford Movement. The phase to which the name of "Ritualism" has been inaccurately and vulgarly applied, was a genuine and natural outgrowth, as true in its appearance as the flower which finally crowns the stalk. In the retrogression in the ill-starred reign of Edward VI., Catholic doctrine and Catholic ritual alike, both held and retained by our first reformers, were, foreign influences, thrown under a cloud. Without tracing the history of the revival through intervening years, suffice it to say that the Oxford Movement did two things for the Church; first, it restored the clear view of the Catholic truth, and secondly, it awakened a strong desire for the recovery of so much of the long lost ritual as might help the clergy in their teaching. Yet this work of his, in developing the ceremonial of the Church, was really the last and least important of all; that to which he attached a very slight value as compared with far weightier things; the slur, "a mere ritualist," if applied to him is as false as it is ungenerous. Yet such things are what the common eye discerns, and at which the public take alarm most readily. It is no wonder that this logical step in a consistent career cost him his rectorship, and what remained of his popularity, with whatever else a hostile generation could take away. He was, as it were, cast out; he knew not for a time how to act; and he thought of endeavoring to secure a livelihood for himself and his family by finding some secular occupation. Fortunately a way of escape was opened; friends, few, but devoted, rallied about him; a poor building formerly occupied by a knot of radical Uni-

tarians, under Mr. O. B. Frothingham, was secured ; the name of S. Ignatius, the martyr of Antioch, was given to it, and there our modern martyr, bearing his own cross patiently and meekly, and truly reflecting the spirit of the former days, found an altar at which to minister, and a modest lectern from which to discourse to the people concerning the things of the Kingdom of God.

And here I avail myself of the occasion to comment on the spirit which once did such cruel things, a spirit now nearly if not quite dead. I have no doubt that it shortened the lives of some of the noblest men we ever had among us ; notably was this true of Mahan, DeKoven, and Ewer. The Church—*this* Church, if you will, to be more exact—never had three men more faithful to her, more wrapped up in her, more ready to every required sacrifice for her. Yet each was assailed by the charge of disloyalty to her, and of a love of and a hankering after Rome. Nay, it may be regarded as quite clear as anything can be in personal history, that assaults on those noble men did somewhat to lessen the length of their days and send them, prematurely, out of the world. Milo Mahan was absent in Europe, seeking recovery in greatly impaired health, when an accusation of false doctrine on the subject of Confession, made in the house of his friends, brought him back, his purposes broken off and his rest at an end, to speak for himself in answer to that groundless charge. James DeKoven, among his other rewards, had that of rejection from the Episcopate by the votes of men, of whom few could have given a correct theological statement on the point on which they brought him into judgment. Ferdinand Ewer, in like manner, bore in his bosom the rebukes of many people, and gave another instance of the slow sapping of courage, heart, and life, by the adversaries of God's faithful servants. Those popular cries, those wanton charges of disloyalty, how keenly does a gentleman feel them ! how does he resent the false accusation ! And who but God knows the secret pain, the inner heartache, the sickening sense of being misunderstood ? I doubt not that it has told fearfully on many a life. The record of those petty persecutions might well be printed in red letters

in the annals of our American Church, as Ruskin printed in his *Sesame and Lilies* the story of the dead in Cobb's Court. Romanizing! disloyalty! the victims know full well how groundless are the charges; they also know how useless it is to make such reply as may convince the gainsayer. And, as time goes on they come to know another thing; that this steady stream of obloquy, falling on the public ear like the plapping of Barnes Newcome's talk, has its effect on nerve and brain and fibre. Constant dropping wears away the rock; continual ramming at a man's heart will affect it, though it were brave as the heart of a lion. I have sometimes had a mind to turn chronicler, and publish a modern edition of *Mercurius Rusticus*, as a memorial of the past and a warning to the future. But perhaps such a work may not be needed. The times are wondrously changed for the better. Men are more generous, more appreciative, wiser, more loving. In our last General Convention, for example, during the whole course of which the spirit of unity, peace and concord seemed to rule each hour and every heart, it happened once that a member, anachronic, moved a resolution having the old firebrand smell about it, the old clatter of the rack and chains. Now he who moved to lay it on the table was Judge Sheffey of Virginia. No one imagined that my honorable and learned friend had altered one iota in his principles; but he saw, as all but the blind do, that the time has gone by for throwing stones and setting out scare-crows.

In the year 1878 Dr. Ewer delivered a series of Conferences in the City of Newark, which attracted great attention and proved his ability as theologian and controversialist.* The request of some thirty laymen representing every parish in that city, runs as follows:

Impressed with a conviction that the Word of God sets forth a distinct System of Truth, which is held and fully taught by the Church; and also that a clear understanding and reception of the Fundamental Teachings of the Christian Religion are necessary for the proper development of man's spiritual

**Catholicity in its relationship to Protestantism and Romanism*; Being six Conferences delivered at Newark, N. J., at the request of leading laymen of that city, by the Rev. F. C. Ewer, S. T. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1878.

life; and further, convinced that a desire exists on the part of many earnest-minded men to know of a System of Faith resting on a surer basis than individual opinion, we, laymen of the Church in Newark, respectfully invite you to deliver in our city a series of Conferences on the Church as the Custodian and Teacher of Divine Truth, in opposition to ultra-Protestantism, and to the anti-Catholic claims of the Papal Church.

In those addresses, six in number, he endeavored "to show the Skeptic, first, why he should be a Christian rather than an Infidel or Unitarian in belief; secondly, a Catholic rather than a Protestant; and lastly, an Anglican Catholic rather than a Roman Catholic." The subject thus laid out is treated with the author's well known brilliancy and force; the work shows a great advance from the point at which the sermons on the "Failure of Protestantism" was delivered; the treatment is masterly, eloquent, earnest. At the opening of the first Conference, he thus alludes to his famous work:

You have come up here to ask, What is Truth? To seek to bring the order of your ideas into correspondence with the order of supernatural fact and movement, external to yourselves, unalterable and eternal.

But a question is 'an hunger.' For who would ask for what he really has? Three hundred years ago Luther and Calvin announced that they had the Truth. But the stormy seas of human judgment and of private criticism upon which they launched it, and the detective solvents of inexorable logic which they challenged, have been too much for it. Calvin cannot answer Channing; Channing cannot answer Parker; Parker cannot answer Frothingham. Lapsing time, too, hath brought its strain upon it; lapsing time, which is the Divine criticism on all systems, hath confronted it with unexpected situations, hath stretched it upon new problems for which, in its human infirmity, it had not foreprovided; and lo! it is rent and gone to pieces. After three hundred years you behold it a miserable raft, its fragments floating apart like mere flying rack of the heavens. And you behold poor remnants only of the great nations clinging to its parted and broken logs, and earnest and thinking men at their wits' end to know what is Truth. It is a question of the preservation of Christianity on earth.

Let me pause here a moment. How is it that I am summoned here by citizens of widely variant views? What has happened in the last ten years? The world does not stop. Truth may be drowned by the cries of ridicule; but the hearts of the silent people, who are watching it, are ever loyal to it, even in its degradation on Calvary; and there is no device yet discovered that shall transubstantiate, in their eyes, either ridicule or prejudice into argument. In 1868, the solemn Indictment against Protestantism, drawn up in the fear of God and in behalf of dying souls, and uttered from Christ Church, Murray Hill, was met, not by argument, but only by a gale of holy malediction and impotent scorn. But those who felt with the penman of that Indictment have bided their time. For there is no device yet discovered that can prolong the

life of an excitement, and save it from sinking to a calm in which the quiet voice of argument can again be heard. I look around, and lo, the ten years have wrought a change. In St. Louis, in Wisconsin, East and West, the challenge to Protestantism is taken up again and begins to swell. And here, in 1878, I call you to mark the pregnant fact, that, as that Indictment was not in a single instance answered in 1868, so it has not been answered since. And here, as a priest of God Almighty's Catholic Church, I call again from these steps of His holy altar, for an answer to that Indictment, if it can be given.

If any person now remain who suspects Dr. Ewer of having been in danger of embracing the system of Vaticanism, these Conferences should convince him of his gross misunderstanding of the man. They may be ranked with Littledale's "*Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome*," as constituting a powerful and striking argument against the claims of the Papal See. They deserve a wide circulation; they will hold a permanent place in our Church literature. Such was their importance, in the eyes of the Roman Catholic community, and so much was their effect feared, that a formal answer was attempted; it appeared in the shape of a volume entitled, "*A Gentle Remonstrance: a Letter Addressed to the Rev. F. C. Ewer, S. T. D., on the Subject of Ritualism, being a review of Dr. Ewer's recent Lectures at Newark, N. J.*" "This letter," which required 270 pages of close type to print it, is of value as evidence of the force of the blow which its author attempts to parry. The reader of the title page will notice the shrewdness with which the writer employs the term "Ritualism," by way of creating a prejudice against his adversary. To harp thus on that term is unfair; it shows in what exceeding dread and alarm the "Ritualists" are held by the Roman Catholics, who never take the pains to molest or hinder, unless the danger to themselves is real. The "Catholic School," as they call themselves, have deeper thoughts than those which concern rites and ceremonies; it is unjust to be forever girding at them on the matter of certain externals, as if such things were first in importance in their eyes. As well might we pretend to despise a well-appointed regiment and say that it existed solely for dress parades and showy uniforms, ignoring its value for defense of the State against internal violence and external aggression. I say after a most intimate acquaintance with my

departed friend, that the last thing I ever thought of in connection with him was his "ritualism," and that I never heard him speak a word on that subject or on any point connected with it. His talk, when we met, was always of higher and larger things.

The Conferences of 1878 were supplemented by another series, also delivered at Newark, under the sanction of the Bishop of New Jersey, and at the request of nine of the clergy of Newark and of laymen from each of the parishes of that city. They relate to the operation of the Holy Spirit under the following heads:

1. General work of the Spirit before Pentecost, among the Jews and the Heathens; and outside of the Church since Pentecost (*1st Conference*).

2. Special work of the Spirit in the Church (*2d Conference*.)

3. Special work of the Spirit in the soul of the baptized individual (*3d and 4th Conferences*).

He gives this preliminary statement:

In the Conferences on Catholicity, Protestantism, and Romanism, delivered last year, the Function of the Holy Ghost was scarcely touched upon; and an explanation is perhaps due for such an apparently serious omission. There were two reasons for it. First, because the work of the Holy Ghost has not been brought directly into the controversy that has arisen between Catholicity and Protestantism; and, secondly, because any tolerably adequate treatment of the topic could not have been inserted into the Conference that was specially devoted to the Creed without unduly prolonging it.

On these three works the fame of our departed brother will rest. Taken together and in their order they present a picture of the workings of his mind, and illustrate all those qualities which made him a power among us. Whatever may be the estimate of the force of the arguments, and however widely we may differ from the writer on many points, I am sure that no candid person can doubt the sincerity, the honesty, the burning enthusiasm, the intense earnestness of that marvellous preacher, and I think that we have cause to be thankful that the Church could bring forth, and train, and keep in true faith and loyalty to her, a brain, a heart, and a soul such as his.

My limits forbid my going much further; indeed, I am writing, not as one who would instruct others, but rather

as one who is waiting for more light from the autobiography and added records which are promised us. They will certainly be deeply interesting and intrinsically valuable if they give, what is always to be desired, a lively picture of the man, just as he was. My relations with him were, for some time, those which the priest will understand: I knew his soul, to its depths; and I break no seal in declaring that it was a noble soul, a holy soul, longing ever for the close walk with God, aspiring to the things which are honest, pure, lovely, and of good report, humble (O! how humble!) gentle, affectionate, charitable toward every man, ready to forgive, patient to suffer. It was his wont to consult me, frequently, on practical matters and difficult cases arising in his work; and in such interviews I came to understand how deep was his interest in the salvation of the souls of men, how conscientious he was in every doubtful question, how distrustful of his own judgment, how simple-hearted, how childlike, how sensitive to the judgment of others. The character which I might describe more fully, had I time, was built up by God's grace, of material, which, but for that grace might have been strewn about as worthless wreck, and of which nothing worthy of preservation might have survived the stroke of the destroyer's hand.

It should be noted, that for some years before his death, a marked reaction had occurred in his favor. This was due, partly to the growth of kindly feeling and the decline of party spirit, partly to the acceptance of the views which he had asserted, and partly to the genuine respect and admiration which were widely accorded to him. No longer under the ban, he enjoyed the esteem and affection of an ever extending circle, and was heard again with pleasure and deference by congregations made up of men of diverse views. He appeared, for instance, at the Church Congress held in 1881 at Providence, and, on his return told me what had occurred. He said, with a smile, in which there was a certain weariness, "How greatly have things changed! How far back it seems to the old days! I am no longer unpopular; I really think that they are beginning to like me again. I spoke right out, on the subject of Confession, and in favor of giving our theological students instruction in

Casuistry by way of preparation for the work of dealing with the conscience; and, would you believe it! instead of driving me off or hooting me down, they actually applauded me! I scarcely recognize myself again." This was said in a manner which disclosed his thankfulness for the growth of Churchly thought, yet with a touching, quiet sadness, as if it came to him too late; perhaps the premonition was with him that the end was near.

Nothing could have been more characteristic, nothing more appropriate, than the coming of that end. A pamphlet lies before me, which constitutes, substantially, his dying gift to us, the "last will and testament" of one who might have truly said, in the poverty and straitness of the earthly tabernacle, "silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto you my brethren and my people." Its title reads thus:

What is the Anglican Church? To which is added an Open Letter, on the Catholic Movement, to the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, D.D., Bishop of Central New York.

This pamphlet is the very last work of a man worn out in the Master's service and ready to depart and be with that Master. And these are the words whereby he should be judged; the final recorded utterances; a confession of faith, uttered ere he passed away. It would be out of place to dwell on them at length; it suffices to say, that they breathe throughout the spirit of love, conciliation, and peace; while they show a steady adherence to the ruling convictions of life, the same old abhorrence of error, whether Roman, Protestant, or Infidel, the same devoted love of the Church which he served, the same staunch loyalty to her as, for him, the sole exponent of a witness to Catholic Truth and Catholic Principles. Maintaining these positions with all the old decision and clearness of statement, his soul now goes forth towards all the brethren of our common humanity, with a fuller, deeper love, with longing for their unity in one and the same hope, with the prayer, in which he sums up all together, thus:

That God will in His mercy remove from us and from all others whatever may hinder or delay Re-union; all suspicions, prejudices, hard thoughts and

judgments; and that He will endow us with such ardent love toward Himself and toward each other, that we may be one in heart, even as Thou, Lord, art One with the Father.

The tract on the Anglican Church, and the Open Letter which followed it, were written during his summer vacation, so-called, when he should have been enjoying entire rest of body and of brain: they were written when he was so very ill that for months he had not a night's rest undisturbed, and when the pain in his head was often so intense that he would stop and clasp his hands upon it in agony. But that was his way; never to spare himself; to work down to bones and skin, in spite of the remonstrances, the entreaties, the solemn appeals of his friends. Doubtless it was so ordered by that Higher Will which rules the world and the Church discreetly and fits means to ends. It seems to have been in the order of God's Providence that this servant of His should so speak once more that none could help hearing; such utterances rule us as voices from another world, where they know even as they are known. Men close to the invisible realm probably hear what we cannot, and when, at such a time, they speak, the words have somewhat of the force and solemnity of a revelation.

The story of the end has been told, but not fully as yet. He had gone to Montreal to preach in the Church of S. John the Evangelist, the notable seat of Catholic doctrine and worship in that city. It was Sunday morning, Oct. 7th. His text was from Phil., iii.: 20, "*our conversation is in heaven.*" He had spoken with unusual, with almost terrible earnestness, denouncing the sins of the age; he had bidden the people "nail the passions to the cross, for crucifixion, and tie their deadly sins to the stake and set fire to them;" he had depicted the glory and blessedness of the celestial reward; five minutes more would have carried him to the end, when he suddenly paused, stopped, grasped the sides of the pulpit, and sank down. Instantly caught as he fell, he was carried to the sacristy, where he remained, calm and tranquil, till, the holy sacrament having been consecrated, the priest and acolytes appeared and he received the Saviour's Body and Blood. It was the end, or very

near the end. Removed to the hotel, he lost consciousness before the evening, and lay in that condition till 4 A. M. of Wednesday, when he passed away. Nothing was omitted that could have been done, by priests and laymen, physicians, nurses, servants, to smooth the passage through the deep shades. His devoted wife was with him; priests succeeded one another at the bedside, reciting prayers; in several cities the holy sacrifice was offered for him; a Sister of the Community of S. Margaret was in the room. After his death, the body was exposed to view for a little while; a service was said at five o'clock; and then, in solemn procession, he was carried through the streets of Montreal on the way to his own place.

God deals wonderfully with those who live very near to Him. That last end seems to have been a translation rather than a death; and, if he could have chosen the place and the time, that choice would probably have corresponded to what did actually occur. Nor can I doubt, after reading a manuscript narrative of those sixty-three hours, with an exact description of his looks, his manner and his words, while conscious after the blow, that he received, during that pause between this world and the next, some marked confirmation of the truth of the things which he had believed and taught. He was one of those to whom the unseen world is intensely real; angels, spirits, devils, were to him no illusion, no fanciful creation, but as true and positive as the tenants of this visible place; most real to him were the "principalities and powers" of the infernal kingdom, "the spirits of the just made perfect," the saints and holy angels who aid, us some personally, and all by their prayers. How marvellous the transit of one who sees all that, and knows Him whom he believes! In one of the published notices of the closing hours it is related that, with his countenance serenely fixed heavenward, and a smile on his face, he repeated the name "Jesus" several times. The incident recalls a paragraph in one of the most wonderful books of the day. "Inglesant said that repeating the name Jesus simply in the lonely nights kept his brain quiet when it was on the point of distraction, being of the same mind as Sir Charles Lucas, when, many times calling on the sacred

name of Jesus, he was shot at Colchester."* What must that Name of Names have been to this priest as his feet touched the brim of the dark river!

It is well that such men are in the Church, and stamp their witness on her annals. They wield an influence felt by multitudes who are not aware of the fact; they attest our right to the "grand old name" of Catholic. The body which could not produce such men as this, or which, having once borne them could drive them from her breast, would be the Church of a party or a section of the Christian household; in number, perhaps, very great, but in spirit unmistakeably and irremediably contracted. May it please God to raise up others like him; to carry on the work on the same lines; not in envy and contention, but after that loving way which subdues hearts to the sweet influences of the Gospel as we have received it by tradition from the past, and must secure for us a growing acceptance with that great number of unreclaimed and wandering souls, whom our Church would fain gather to her bosom and hold secure in her expansive communion.

MORGAN DIX.

THE RECENT AND SUPERNATURAL ORIGIN OF MAN, CONSIDERED FROM A PURELY SCIENTIFIC POINT OF VIEW.

AMONG the many questions to which the recent discoveries and speculations in physical science have given rise, there is no one that is more interesting or, in many respects, more important than that one of them which relates to the antiquity and primitive condition of man.

I am not aware that anybody claims that any support for the theory of evolution can be derived from any *facts* that are actually known concerning the antiquity and primitive condition of man. On the contrary, as Principal Dawson

* John Inglesant. *A Romance*. Vol. I., p. 256.

has well remarked, "the only reason for supposing an antiquity for man greater than the close of the Glacial Epoch arises from the requirements of the hypothesis of Evolution."

These words were written some ten or fifteen years ago. And we may add that whatever has been gained by way of discovery or discussion since that time has only added force and emphasis to the statement. Evolution gains no strength from what we *know* concerning early man; but, on the contrary, what we thus know is a burden and a hindrance to that theory, if, indeed, it is not to be regarded as an insuperable objection to its acceptance.

If evolution be the true explanation of man's origin and condition, there must have been a long period when it would be doubtful whether he should be called man or not—whether he should be classed with the human species or with the brutes. And, at any rate, in the earliest stages of his existence *as man*, he should be lower down and more nearly like the brutes than he is now.

I propose to discuss these two points, (1) the antiquity and (2) primitive condition of man, first, and then to proceed to a few considerations that are of a more general character.

I introduce the subject with the following statement, taken from Huxley's famous *Dublin Address*, delivered in 1878, and republished in Appleton's "Popular Science Monthly," October, 1878.

These words, coming, as they do, rather in the nature of an admission than of a contention, deserve the greater consideration:

"Man. Intelligent man, existed at times when the whole physical conformation of the country [England] was totally different from that which characterizes it now. . . . But when it comes to a question as to tracing back man further than [the drift], and recollect drift is only the scum of the earth's surface, I must confess that to my mind the evidence is of a very dubious character. . . . I don't know that there is any reason for doubting that the men who existed at that day were, *in all essential respects* [the italics are mine], similar to the men who exist now."

Here are two points for consideration, each of them of the greatest importance to our present purpose: the one

relates to the time of man's appearance on the earth—his antiquity—and the other to his condition at that time.

For many reasons it will be best to take up the question of the date of his origin first:

I. In the quotation from Huxley, we have it brought down to some point since the close of the Glacial Period. Dawson also says:* "The only necessity for supposing an earlier appearance arises from the requirements of the hypothesis of Evolution."

Nicholson also makes a similar statement in regard to the antiquity of man, referring his origin to Post Glacial times,† with no evidence, as he thinks, of an earlier date.

It becomes a very important matter, therefore, to determine, if we can, how long ago that Age came to its close.

Fortunately for us we are in a better condition to answer this question now than we were only a few years ago.

It has been until quite recently, and is still with most persons, the unsuspecting belief that that Age was so far back in the past, as to allow an almost infinite time, for man's development or evolution from some species that is far below him in the zoological scale.

A few facts that were formerly claimed, as by Sir Charles Lyell in his "*Antiquity of Man*" for example, such as the erosion of the Somme Valley, the cone of Tinière, the depth of human remains in the Danish peat-bogs, have been shown to have been very uncertain at first; and on further consideration, they have been found to bear out no such conclusion; so that the ground on which the early claim was founded has been abandoned. I will only refer for a very satisfactory explanation of these facts to Dr. James C. Southall's "*Epoch of the Mammoth and the Appearance of Man on Earth*." In the case of the Somme, it is shown to have been a pre-glacial excavation, and therefore no indication of the time of the Ice Age. And in the other cases, the error was simply the result either of a mistake in the methods of computation, or in the assumption of the data on which the computation was based.

* "Chain of Life in Geological Time," p. 239.

† "Ancient Life History of the Earth," p. 365.

I will add that Huxley has just given us another "benefit" by disposing of another of the facts that have been claimed by those who advocate the great antiquity of Man.

Huxley is, of course, a believer in evolution, and his admissions are the more valuable to us on that account. The fact that I refer to is "the great antiquity" of Man in Egypt. It has been claimed that here, at least, we have proofs of man's presence and activity at a date "not less than thirty-five or forty thousand years ago." But Huxley in his *Eaton address* just published (*Appleton's Popular Science Monthly, July, 1883*), claims, as a geologist, that the Nile Valley is a valley of erosion like the "Wadies" that are abundant in that region. He thinks it *may have been* dug out by the water at the close of the Ice Age, though some parts of it are much older and were pre-glacial.* But estimating the time by the rate of deposit, he thinks that "the alluvium about Memphis may have been deposited in ten thousand years" (p. 332), although the filling up of the Arabian Gulf took much more time, say, "twenty thousand years" (p. 333).

But of course the settlement of Egypt by man did not take place until long after the Nile had begun to deposit the alluvium on which the human habitations are founded. And in any view of the details, this disposes of the claim for the great antiquity of man that has sometimes been put forth on the ground of the many thousands of years that Egypt is supposed to have been settled. Thus one after another the geological and palæontological facts disappear or call for a different interpretation.

There has been a disposition to connect the Glacial Period with certain astronomical changes in the Earth's orbit, and the distance of the sun from the earth. But this claim must, I think, be now abandoned as no longer available.

1. In the first place it has been shown by a careful compu-

* There may have been *glaciation* in Nubia and the high lands at the heads of the Nile, as there is now in the Alps and Andes, but the glaciation of the Age, which we generally have in mind when we speak of "the Ice Age," did not extend as far south as the Valley of the Nile, its southern limit having been about 40 north latitude.

tation that at even the coldest age in the past, so far as the temperature depends on the distance of the sun from the earth, the temperature could not have been more than about three degrees Farenheit colder than it is now for the latitude in which the ice prevailed.

2. There must have been great heat as well as cold, to raise water enough from the ocean to produce the ice. It has been computed that the evaporation thus required could not have reduced the surface of the ocean less than five hundred feet.

3. There is an Ice-age *now* in Greenland, one in the Alps, and in the Himalayahs, and one in the Andes even, directly under the Equator, and in the entire Antarctic regions so far as the land extends. But there is no glaciation in the North parts of America or of Asia, even where the land extends to hundreds of miles within the Arctic Circle.

These facts show very conclusively, as I think, that these astronomical changes can have had but very little to do with producing the Ice Age; they could have neither produced nor prevented an Ice Age. Cold may indeed condense the vapor, but there must be heat as well to produce the vapor. And any of the astronomical changes, by producing more of the one or the other at any given time could not have produced the legitimate effect of the two operating together.

It is, indeed, true that in consequence of one of the changes—the result of the precession of the equinoxes—a greater degree of heat in one hemisphere, the weather for example, would be accompanied with a corresponding decrease of temperature in the other; the last of these periods for the Northern Hemisphere was about ten thousand years ago.

We turn then to compute, from the best data we have, the length of time that has elapsed since the close of the Ice Period and the beginning of the Present Age.

The data consist of measurements that have been made of changes that have taken place since the close of the Ice Period. They are, of course, to some extent, based on estimates of rates of erosion and accumulation. I have before me the results of such computation in eight different

places—all that I am now able to find—three in this country and five in Europe. I give them below, with the names of the authorities, and the two estimates, the highest and the lowest, where I have more than one, and an average of them all at the bottom.

<i>In America.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>	<i>Least.</i>	<i>Highest.</i>
St. Anthony's Falls,	Winchell,	6,376	12,108
Lakes Michigan and Huron,	Andrews,	5,800	7,500
Falls of Niagara,	H. S. Williams,		11,886
<i>In Europe.</i>			
"The Wash" (East of England),	Skertchley,		7,000
Danish Peat Bogs,	Morlot & Lubbock,	6,400	10,000
Saône Valley,	Ferry & Arcelin,	7,000	10,000
St. Nazaire (on the Loire),	Kerviler,		6,000
Solutré (East of France),	Ducrost,	7,000	8,000
Average of all the estimates,		8,028.	

Considering the fact that these changes must have been more rapid in the earlier stages than they have been since, it seems likely that the smaller numbers are more nearly correct than the larger. And the average of the smaller is in fact a little less than the Bible chronology as given in the Septuagint version, which is about seven thousand three hundred years.

It may be worth mentioning in this connection (although as I have said astronomical changes can have done but little towards producing or preventing an Ice Age), that the last of the cold periods for the northern hemisphere occurred about ten thousand years ago, as I have just said. But these erosions or deposits began only with the end or close of the Ice Age—the end of the long winter. Now our shortest day occurs in the latter part of December, and the coldest on the average is about the first of February. But spring does not fully set in until some weeks after. If, now, the "mid winter" was ten thousand years ago—the beginning of spring—the great thaw may well have been only about seven or eight thousand years ago.

And here facts and data alike fail us. Man *may* have originated and lived in his early Asiatic home for many thousands of years—during the Pliocene Tertiary period—and long before he made his way down into the valley of the Euphrates, crossed over into Africa and down the Nile

valley, or reached their earlier homes in Central Europe. I say that, in view of all the facts known to science, he *may have* done so. But there is absolutely no proof that he did. Or again, he *may have* originated on some continent now submerged under the Indian Ocean—some “Lemuria” of the over-heated brain of an enthusiast for evolution. But of this there is absolutely no proof whatever. All that can be said in its favor is mere theory, or inferences from theory—the theory of evolution—which in many other respects is itself sadly in want of confirmation.

I am well aware that the result thus reached will be a surprise to most of my readers. The Ice Age is something so strange and mysterious—something so unlike anything we now see that it is supposed to have had an antiquity proportioned to its strangeness and its unlikeness to what we now experience. The impression is, in a measure, traditional. The first teachings of geologists with regard to that strange accumulation of ice was, that it was wholly unaccountable and of immense antiquity. There is no claim, at least, I make none, that its occurrence is even now fully understood and accounted for. Much more will doubtless be known about it hereafter. But it is not easy to see how future discoveries can well change the result I have reached, so far as the date is concerned. It is much less unlikely that we shall find proof of man's existence before the Ice Age, than that we shall find any reason to suppose that these indications of its age will prove to have been misleading. Take as example the erosion of the rivers at S. Anthony and at Niagara Falls. Estimates may vary by a few thousand years indeed; but nothing, as it would seem, can raise a doubt that the erosion of the channels has taken place wholly since the close of the Ice Age, whatever may have been the rate of the erosion, and whether it was more rapid, as is generally believed, at the first than it is now or not.*

* The best theory that I have seen is that which is fully elaborated by Wallace in his “Island Life.” It supposes that there was (1) a very much greater elevation of land in the Northeast of America and the Northwest of Europe and Asia from the Ural Mountains westward, and (2) a change in the

Of course great changes have taken place in "the physical conformation of the country," as Huxley says, since man made his appearance. The coast of the north of France and parts of England, have risen some thirty or forty feet, and many species of animals that then existed in England and France are now extinct, or found only in other parts of the world. But then the land is *now* either rising or falling almost everywhere, and so fast as to render it not improbable that the bank of the Somme and the north of France may have risen forty or even fifty feet in the last six thousand years. And there is nothing in the extinction or migration of animals to cause distrust of the conclusion we have reached.

I think, therefore, we may safely conclude that there is no proof that man has been on the earth more than six or eight thousand years.

Principal Dawson, of McGill College, whom I have already quoted and who is perhaps the best authority on such subjects in this country, and as good as any in the world, after reviewing the whole ground in his recent work: "*Fossil Men and their Modern Representatives*," sums up with these words:

"What evidence the future may bring forth I do not know, but that available at present points to the appearance of man, with all his powers and properties, in the Post-glacial age of geology, and not more than from six to eight thousand years ago. This abrupt appearance of man in his full proportions, his association with animals, the greater part of which still survive, and his introduction at the close of that great and as yet very mysterious revolution of the earth which we call the Glacial period, accords, as I have elsewhere endeavored to show, with the analogy of geological science, in the information which it gives us of the first appearance of other types of original beings in the several stages of development of our earth" (pp. 246, 247).

But whatever uncertainty there may be about the *cause*

ocean currents, so that what we now know as the Gulf Stream did not pass up to the north between America (or rather Greenland, which was probably then connected with the continent of America) and Europe, and may, not unlikely, have made its way to the north up the great Mississippi Valley, so far as America is concerned, and up through Asia, where the Aral and the Caspian now are, eastward of the Ural Mountains. There was no ice accumulation or glaciation in Eastern Asia or in Western North America at that time.

of the "glacial period," there is no doubt as to the fact that it has left marks of its existence and data for ascertaining the time of its close, to which I have just called attention. And these indications, as I have said and now repeat are of such a nature that it would seem that nothing could be discovered to change the result very materially; they give an antiquity of about seven thousand years.

II. Our second point was the condition of man at this early period, in its bearing on the question of his origin by mere natural means out of some of the orders or species of the animal world below man.

The advocates of evolution make in reality four stages in the development of man, which it is important to take into consideration: (1) The intermediate state when our ancestors could not be regarded as either men or brutes. (2) The stone age. (3) The bronze age. (4) The iron age, merging imperceptibly into the modern, which is the age of civilization.

It is about absolutely necessary to that theory, that these ages should have been, if not for the race as a whole, yet for each branch of it separately, consecutive in their chronological order, so that man shall have passed in succession through the three stages, though in some cases and under more favorable circumstances one people may have passed through the three and from one to the other more rapidly than others.

But what then are the facts with regard to Primitive Man, of the earliest period of which we know anything about him? I speak of *knowledge*, and I want to keep that distinct from all mere *inferences* from a yet disputed and justly questionable theory of evolution. Let us deduce our theory, whether evolution or whatever it may be, from the facts; and not invert the order and deduce our facts from the theory we have adopted; or which is perhaps more likely to occur, *invent* facts to meet the demands of the theory.

We have seen that Huxley says—admits rather—that primitive man, so far as we *know* anything about him, was "in *all essential respects* similar to the men that exist now."

Dawson thus sums up the case in his "*Chain of Life*."¹

"With such views the skeletons of the most ancient known men fully accord. They indicate a people of great stature, of powerful muscular development, especially in the lower limbs; of large brain, *indicating great capacity and resources.*" (The italics are mine.)

Nicholson says:²

"As to the physical peculiarities of the ancient races . . . little is known. . . Such information as we have, however, . . . would lead to the conclusion that Post-Pliocene man *was in no respect* [the italics are mine] inferior in his organization to or less highly developed than many existing races. All the known skulls of this period, with the single exception of the Neanderthal cranium, *are in all respects* average and normal in their characters."

The very latest statement by any one whose eminence as a man of science makes his opinion worth citing, is that by the Marquis de Saporta (in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1883, translated in part in the *Popular Science Monthly* for September, 1883). Saporta *thinks* that man originated in the North, perhaps within the Arctic Circle, before the beginning of the Glacial Period; but he offers no proof of his opinion on this point. He, however, states that at the earliest period of which we know anything of man, he was widely spread over the face of the earth, and was "*the same in all the essential characteristics of the species*" as he is now, and had his origin twelve or fifteen degrees further north than that of the habitat of any of the apes that most resemble man—the Pitheicans (pp. 674, 680, 682).

I cite but one more authority on this point, and that is one which will command very considerate attention. It is Herbert Spencer, and I quote at some length. He says:*

"Evolution is commonly considered to imply that in everything there is an intrinsic tendency to become something higher, but this is an erroneous conception of it. If environing circumstances change, the species changes until it re-equilibrates itself with them. . . . Only now and then does the environing change initiate in the organism a new complication and so produce a

¹ *Chain of Life*, p. 241. See also MITCHELL's *Past in the Present*, every where. And still better, DAWSON's *Fossil Men*, p. 180, and following.

² *Ancient Life-History of the Earth*, p. 864.

* Principles of Sociology, Vol. I, Chap. viii, § 50.

somewhat higher type. When the habitat entails modes of life that are inferior some degeneration results. . . . Direct evidence forces this conclusion upon us. Lapse from higher civilization to lower civilization made familiar during school-boy days is further exemplified as our knowledge increases; . . . many large and highly evolved societies have either disappeared or have dwindled to barbarous hordes or have been long passing through slow decay; . . . thus then the tribes now known as lowest [note the word, "lowest"], must exhibit some social phenomena which are due . . . to causes that operated during past social states higher than the present."

So much for admissions and testimonies by those who are best qualified to speak on the subject.

But there is one point to which we have not adverted. The "men" of whom these authors, except, perhaps, Spencer, speak, were men who had wandered far from the primeval home of their ancestors. We know very well, that in our day, the lowest and most debased savages which exist are found in parts of Africa and the South Sea Islands, and co-exist in point of time with the civilization and culture of London and Paris, of Berlin and Vienna. We know also that when Athens was at the height of its glory, the savages of America were still in their stone age. Who then can tell but that when those rude cave-dwellers and mound builders, of whom Huxley, Dawson and Nicholson speak, representing as they do the whole class of scientists, in this matter at least, who can say, I ask, but that when these men lived in their caves, hunted with bows and arrows, and had nothing at best but stone implements, the men who lived in the far East in the Nile valley, or on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, may have been at the very height of their glory, at the culminating point of their civilization and their culture? Dr. Mitchell, in his work "*The Past in the Present*," has shown that now, even to-day, all these three forms or stages of human life, may be found, with nearly all that characterized the earlier and the lowest stages, if indeed the lowest was the earlier, in Scotland, and within a few hours' ride from Edinburgh itself.

And of course these ruder implements may have been used by the poorer classes, while the richer people had tools and implements of a much higher order.. This is, in

fact, just what Dr. Schlieman found to have been the case in that pre-Trojan city, which he discovered below the ruins of ancient Troy, and which was most likely contemporary with Solutr , Aurigniac, Mentone and other earliest abodes of men in Europe.

But at any rate I think it worthy of special note—as a fact always to be kept in mind—a fact that cannot be too much insisted upon, in this connection, that no one of the discoveries or discovered facts in the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile, has yet pointed to or indicated an earlier or previous period of savagery or barbarism. There is no indication even, of a previous, nomadic or wandering life. At the beginning, with the very earliest moment of which there is any hint or suggestion, the people were a settled people, a civilized people, with towns and cities, an advanced architecture, a written language and,—let us add—a *monotheistic* religion. And these are the earliest settlements and the earliest settlers that we know anything about. The European savages were evidently wanderers from some such home. And these are facts of *science* too, outside of, though concurring with Bible teaching.

If now we turn from man to look for his supposed ancestor, the stock from which he is supposed to have been derived, I note the fact that so far as we know, and so far as any discoveries or researches have brought any facts in the case to light, there were none of the quadrumanous animals in existence at the time when man appeared, that were of a higher grade or order than those that are in existence now.

Saporta, already cited, says of them, p. 680:

“They have in their faces and ways something singularly human. The pithecan however have other contiguities than purely human ones. Their ways are rather analogous than directly the same as those of man, with other adaptations. They seem to have followed a wholly different course of evolution... *We have then reason not to admit the simian origin of man* without decisive proof. Moreover the pithecan seem to have been evolved in a different direction from man. Beginning in heat they perish rapidly when brought into temperate zones. . . While man coming from the north advances toward the south only when the depression of temperature favors his progress in that direction.”

Of course if we should make it a question of the present

time, there would be no question about it. Nobody would seriously consider it or listen to arguments in its favor. The men of to-day would as soon and as easily believe that a man had been born without a father, or had come into the world without parents of either sex, as that a man of the average capacities and all "the essential characteristics" of men as they now are, had been begotten, born and reared by any pair of apes, monkeys or baboons, ourang-outangs, chimpanzies or gorillas, now known to exist on the face of the earth.

I do not propose to discuss the points of resemblance or of disagreement between man and the higher of the anthropoid apes, now known. I have just said that the difference is so great and of such a nature, that no scientific man believes or would suppose for a moment that any human offspring could be born of any of the anthropoids that now exist. And the point of my argument is that there never has been, so far as we know or have any reason, however slight, to believe, a time when the difference was less or even so little as it is now, or the improbability, and, I may add, the absurdity of the supposition of such an origin for man would be greater than it is now. We gain nothing therefore by thinking of it as in the past, in some long gone geological age, except that possibly we thereby obscure the sense of the monstrous absurdity of the supposition, or divert attention from dwelling upon it long enough to realize how monstrous and unscientific it is.

In this respect time is really of no account. Even if man existed before the close of the glacial period, of which Dawson says there is no evidence worth considering, and even Huxley admits that what there is that is claimed "is of a very dubious character", it does not help the matter. Men and apes were no more alike, and not even so much alike, then as those varieties of men and apes that most nearly approach each other are now.

Of course there is no doubt but that great changes may take place in both men and animals in consequence of the physical influence of "environment" during a succession of generations. It is commonly believed that all the varieties of the domestic dog have been thus produced among the

descendants of some of one primitive stock. And most men who believe in the historic unity of the human race, believe that the differences we now see among them are the result of the influence of climate, mode of life and similar causes. Whether these causes and others like them might or might not produce, in the course of time, the difference which now constitutes the distinction between what we recognize as different *species* or not, we need not now pause to inquire; nor do we need to dispute or deny it. Two facts are indisputable:

1. Nobody supposes that men, or human beings, like what we now see living on the earth, could have descended immediately from any of the forms of the apes or monkeys that *are now in existence*.

2. Nobody believes that the difference between men, and even the highest and most anthropoid apes could have come in the way in which evolutionists believe it to have come, in the length of time which is all that, as we now see, can be allowed for the change. Not even the length of time thus found to be allowable for the transformation would be sufficient if it were many times doubled. And we may repeat Dawson's statement, already quoted: "The only reason for supposing a greater antiquity for man than six or eight thousand years, arises from the requirement of the hypothesis of evolution."

In view of the second fact just stated, in connection with some others that I need not cite, many of the staunchest advocates of evolution are of opinion that man is *not* a direct descendant of any of the monkey or ape tribes, but that the two-men and monkeys, are *collateral* descendants from a much more primitive stock.

But for this view no proof has been offered, and it is suggested as a mere possibility, or a means to escape the conviction of the recent and supernatural origin of man.

In view of this claim two very serious objections are urged:

1. The first is, that there seems to be a limit to the extent to which the descendants of any stock may vary or diverge from the original type. Take the domestic dog as an example. Supposing they were all derived from one

stock—and if they have not been so derived the whole theory of evolution breaks down; they have departed widely from the original type, and are very unlike one another. The varieties of dogs differ more widely from one another than the different races of men; but yet they are all dogs; there has never been developed the characteristics of any new species; nothing to show that dogs may have been derived, by natural descent, in any past time, from a stock or parentage that would not have been regarded as canine. Thus there seems to be a barrier around such natural groups of animals which men cannot, and the forces and influences of nature do not enable, them to pass. And of course no one will doubt that, if there are such groups, the human species constitutes one of them.

2. If, however, we turn to the past and consider the long ages of geological time, we encounter another difficulty; the records of the past furnish no proof of genealogical descent. Thus it is claimed that the earliest animals of the horse family were very small and in many respects very unlike the horses of to-day; that there has been a series and a succession of such animals on the same part of the earth's surface, beginning back in the early Tertiary. That there is such a series admits of no doubt. But there is no proof of lineal descent in the case. For example, there is a race of white men living in the Ohio valley to-day. A few centuries ago the red-skin Indians lived there, and before them the mound builders. We know that the white men are not the descendants of the red-skins, and it is not generally supposed that the red-skins descended from the mound builders. But there is just as much, and just as little, proof of actual descent and evolution in the case of these successive races of men in the valley of the Ohio as there is of evolution or lineal descent in the case of the horse family, just alluded to. And yet this case of the *equidæ* is regarded as one of the strongest proofs of evolution in the past. Or, to put it in another form, there is no more proof, and incomparably less intrinsic probability, that man has ever or any where descended from any race or order in the animal kingdom below him—than there is now and to-day that the present race of civilized white

people in the Ohio valley descended from the old mound builders through the red-skin Indians.

As Dawson says (*Chain of Life*, p. 361), "Palæontology furnishes no direct evidence, and perhaps never can furnish any, as to the actual transformation of one species into another," or, as we may add, the development or evolution of any new species that have been recognized as a species from stock or parentage belonging to another species. But the replacing one species by another very similar to it, like the Indians by the whites or the European, even on our continent, is very common throughout the animal world. And so far as human observation and scientific knowledge is concerned, this is the only way in which different species have ever succeeded each other in the same *habitat* in geological time. All else is mere assumption.

III. So much for the *body* of man—the time and manner of its origin. Now let us turn to the consideration of his *mind* or his *soul*.

So far as I know, the advocates of evolution, in its most extreme form—that is, evolution *without* Divine interpositions—belong to two classes; the *one* class deny the existence and reality of mind, and would, if they were consistent with their theory, cease to use the word altogether; the *other* make it an abstract term, and speak of it as derived from nerve-action, as light, heat and electricity are produced by chemical action.

But in this case they make "*mind*" synonymous with "*thought*," and thus they evade the question altogether. For the question now before us is not how does *thought* come, or how does the *mind* think, but it is, how does the mind itself—or how did it—come into existence?

To put ourselves into a position to appreciate the importance of this question, and its bearing on the adequacy of evolution as an explanation of the phenomena of man's appearing and life in the Universe, let us consider, a moment, the nature and limits of evolution itself.

Evolution proper, that is, evolution by itself alone and without God as a Creator, can be no more than a derivation of new forms, combinations and conditions out of pre-existing substances or elements. It cannot produce any-

thing that is *substantially* new; no new element or first principles—but only new forms of the old matter. Evolution, if it is but one process, must be continuous, like a line, whether straight or curved, that has, or can have, one equation that will express and indicate all its points or *loci*; it cannot be now straight, then pass into a parabola, and end in a spiral or some curve of a still higher and more complicated order.

Or to put the matter in another light: We may suppose we have a Universe composed of certain elements. For the sake of simplicity we will say the four, oxygen, hydrogen, carbon and nitrogen. Now, these elements may unite in various ways and proportions and form, say, carbonic acid, water, ammonia, or illuminating gas. And, I am willing to admit, for the occasion, that, by way of pure evolution, they may unite so as to form the exceedingly complicated and unstable compound called “protoplasm”— C_{36} , H_{26} , N_4 , O_{10} . And again, I am willing to go still further, and admit that this protoplasm would be a living mass—though I do not see how it could be so—but I am willing to admit that it would be a living being, with all the phenomena of sensibility, growth, reproduction, decay and death.

But if anywhere in the course of these changes—evolutions and developments—we should encounter a new element, as for example, iron or calcium, sulphur or potassium, whether simple or in combination with the others, we should know at once that we had come to something more than evolution—to some fact which evolution, without something besides evolution—something acting as a creating power—could not explain. So long as we find only new forms and combinations of the old matter, the pre-existing elements, evolution may satisfy us and answer all the purposes of explaining what we see.

But somewhere along in the series, in the ascending order, and later in geological time, when we reach man—if not before—we come to mind; this is a substantial reality. It is no mere combination of any of the four—or the sixty-four—if that is the number—of elements that were in that nebulous mass in which Tyndall thought he

saw "the potency and promise of life and of all that now exists."*

Is the mind then a substantial reality? The question becomes one of controlling importance just now.

Several answers and modes of answers may be given. But I prefer one that is somewhat *ad hominem*, to those whose views we are here considering.

Let us take a case. At night, after a day of unusual excitement, one feels tired and would be glad to go to sleep. The "I" wants to go to sleep; but the brain—or the body—will not go to sleep. The heart keeps the blood flowing into the brain, with the fullness of high activity. The brain is kept active, and *it keeps* the ego, the "I" awake and active *in spite of itself*. Are they one and the same, and not rather two, the "I" and "the brain"? the one opposing and resisting the other?

Or in the reverse of the case: Suppose, after a day of ordinary labor, we feel tired and drowsy—inclined to sleep: that is, *the body feels so*; and every physical and physiological condition indicates approaching sleep. But the "I" knows that it ought not to sleep; it has a duty to perform which it may not omit. Whatever the body and the brain, as a part of the body, and in harmony, in this at least, with all the rest of the body, may be inclined to do, we resist the tendency to sleep. *We keep awake*; and we keep on with our thinking *in spite of the inclination of the brain*, and the body, and we keep the brain and the body awake and at work, when, if left to themselves, they would go to sleep.

Are now the "brain" and the "I" the same? The brain that would go to sleep, and the "I" that would not allow it to do so?

Are there not then two realities—two forces—the one acting contrary to the other, as completely as substantially as when I lift a weight, I am one force, and the object that I lift is another, and a resisting force?

*Tindale may have seen "the potency and promise of life," whatever those words may mean, but he did not see, or if he did he has never told us, how these elements could become living beings, plants or animals, without Divine interposition—the agency and act of God.

But I cite a class of experiments that were performed at Cornell University, to determine the velocity or rate of motion in the nerve currents.

If we send a stimulus—say an electric shock up the arm, it goes to the spinal cord between the shoulders and is instantly sent back to the muscles of the arm and produces a jerking motion which is both a matter of consciousness to the individual himself, and of observation by the eye to the observer.

But the Professor tried a class of experiments in which the element of volition became involved. A signal was given by touching the toe of the left foot, and the sign was to be a motion of the index finger of the right hand.

In these cases the current must pass up the leg, the length of the body, and reach the brain. It would then go down the right arm to the fore finger—a distance varying from six or seven, to eight or nine feet, according to the size of the individual.

To appreciate the experiment, we must call to mind the fact that in this case there is no “through line,” so to call it, from the toe to the finger of the hand on the other side. Suppose, for example, I wish to send a message from Albany to Boston through Springfield: if there is a “through line” the message goes at once, in about twice the time that it would take to go to Springfield alone. But if there is no through line, the message must be *taken off* at Springfield before it can go on to its destination, and we are at the mercy of the Springfield operator.

Now, there is, in the human body, such a through line from any point in the skin to the nerve-centre and back to the muscles that lie immediately under it, or are needed to control that limb to which the stimulus is applied. But there is no such line from the foot on one side of the body to the finger on the other.

Hence in all of Professor Garver's experiments the message has to be taken off and rewritten. In all cases *the ego, the “I,” was involved*. There must be (1) consciousness of the sensation produced by the signal given in the foot; (2) thought as to whether the sign should be given or not; and (3) volition, and the exertion of force to produce the sign.

Professor Garver says, in the Report referred to (p. 422):¹

"It seems that when an individual is experimented upon, as in the given cases, he is conscious of being *surprised* by the signal, even when expecting it. And sometimes the surprise is such that he forgets to answer until he is conscious of considerable time elapsing. At times he has to 'think twice' before he moves his finger or stipulated muscle."

But in *all cases* it takes longer for the current to pass from one point to the other than when it does not go through the "I"—that is, longer than when the sign is not voluntary, as in the case of the electric shock.

In the next place the "I" can *arrest and detain the current for an indefinite time*—long enough, as Professor Garver says, "to think twice;" that is, to recollect and consider whether to give the sign or not. And *the length of time between the signal and the sign is prolonged accordingly.*

But more than this. The "I" can arrest the current *altogether*, and give no sign. The signal may be given to the foot, the sensation perceived, and the "I" decide to give no sign; and no sign is given.

Professor Garver adds, as a conclusion: "Knowing, then, that there is a variable element entering after consciousness, it might not be going too far to assume the variation is entirely cerebral," p. 422.

But how "cerebral?" Only, I apprehend, as it occurs in the *cerebrum* or brain proper; and that is just where the "I" acts.

Hence the "I," the mind, the soul, the self, the ego—or whatever we choose to call it, is proven to be a reality—a real cause in the production of the phenomena, or at least, in giving character to them.

Nor is this all. The "I" acts according to a law not known in *material* things—or rather it does *not* act in accordance with a law that rules in *all* the phenomena of motion and change in mere matter.

It can and does, *of itself*, act or withhold action, act sooner or later, with no cause or influence, so far as known or discernible, outside of itself, or foreign to its own nature.

¹ "American Journal of Science and Arts," for June, 1878, pp. 418-422.

It takes time, as the Professor says, "to think twice," in some cases; and in others it does not act at all. And he might have added, it can and does in some cases act *when no signal is given*. "There is a variable element after consciousness," such as never occurs in mere inanimate matter. A stone that is propelled by the hand never stops "*to think twice*" or even once, before it starts. The dead bird does not stop to think before it falls to the earth. The atoms of oxygen and hydrogen do not "*hesitate*" to unite when the temperature has reached the required degree. There is "no variable element after consciousness"—and no consciousness, after which to be a variable element in any of the phenomena with which physical science has to deal.

And the brain itself is no exception to this law that pertains and controls in all other matters, atoms, molecules or masses. In the case of purely ideo-motor, reflex action, the action or reaction is as immediate and as truly and really, though not quite so completely and entirely, beyond our power of control, as in the case of the jerk that follows the electric shock. Let something irresistibly ludicrous occur before our eyes or in the hearing of our ears, and the outburst of laughter will come in spite of ourselves. Or let something exceedingly sad occur to our thoughts, and the outcry of grief, the groan and the tears will come; we cannot put them off as we sometimes do our repentance to "a more convenient season," or to some chosen opportunity. This is a purely brain reaction, and it is as immediate and to a large extent as uncontrollable and irresistible as the reflex action from the other nerve-centres. But in Professor Garver's experiments it was not so. To repeat again his words:

"It seems that when an individual is experimented upon, as in the given cases, he is conscious of being *surprised* by the signal, even when expecting it. And sometimes the surprise is such that he forgets to answer until he is conscious of considerable time elapsing. At times he has to 'think twice' before he moves his finger or stipulated muscle."

Now in this we have mind proved to be a reality, an active agent, a substantial thing, as clearly as we have or can have such an agent proved to exist anywhere. We prove it by a process similar in kind, and as certain in its results, as that by which we prove the existence of carbon, or hy-

drogen, or any one of the chemical elements that is never found in a separate state.

It is *sui generis*. It has properties that distinguish it from matter in any of its forms and modes of activity as distinctly and as clearly as the properties which, in chemistry, distinguish one substance or element from another, as iron, for example, from carbon, or silex from chlorine.

Where then did the mind come and how came it into existence? Manifestly, it is not a compound of any of the four, or the sixty-four *material* elements, of which all the visible and tangible objects in the universe are made up. Evolution cannot explain its origin, or tell how it came into existence. It is beyond and outside of any mere process of evolution from the primordial mass of matter of which and from which, for aught we know, all things else in this world may have been evolved.

IV. Evolution is a word that has, however, come into very general use and is likely to remain, as I think, in use for a long time; the word denotes a process indeed; but the process itself falls short, in several ways, of being an adequate explanation of anything. It had a beginning and must come to an end. It has a subject-matter which it did not originate and a beginning which it did not inaugurate. It is under a law which it did not ordain and must come to an end from which it cannot of itself emerge.

It is perfectly certain that we live in the midst of a succession of stages of what, for certain purposes and in certain aspects of the case, may be called an evolution, there was a time in the past when there was no living thing on the earth. From the first appearance of living things, plants and animals, there has been a steady progress from lower to higher, until at last we have men. But why has this progress or evolution gone no further?

If God existed at first as its cause His will is its limit and law; and His purpose is the adequate explanation of the fact that it has gone no further and produced nothing higher than man, and nothing better than what we see around us now. Otherwise there is no explanation and no answer can be given to questions why it has gone no further. The change or progress which the matter of the

universe is now undergoing is from an extreme of heat and diffusion to one of condensation and cold. At these extremes there must be, though for different reasons at each, a complete "equilibrium or rest," as Herbert Spencer has called it, for each particle and atom or mass of matter.

From this state—whether of "equilibrium" or of "rest"—mere matter cannot *arouse itself* to begin either chemical or mechanical action. Nor can it oscillate or vibrate between any two points short of those extremes, without some force outside of matter and acting on it by a law different from any of the forces that are known to either chemistry or physics.

The forces of mere inanimate matter are, in reference to the point before us, of two kinds: The one act by *impact*, giving, as it were, a blow, then cease to act. The motion thus produced is in a straight line and with a uniform velocity, and without some other force acting upon the mass in motion; the motion can never come to an end. The *other* kind of forces act *continuously*—like gravity, for example. The motion thus produced is, where there is no other force acting on the same mass, in a straight line and with a constantly increasing velocity.

With the two forces acting together on the same mass we may have motion in a curve line, and, under certain conditions, we have alternations, oscillations or vibrations, back and forth between limits or maximum and minimum points. We have examples in the planets revolving around the sun, the pendulum that vibrates, attracted by the earth, and by the piston in a steam cylinder, that is kept moving back and forth by the steam that comes in from outside. But there can be no mass of matter *outside* of the material universe to keep it moving between any two extremes. Materialism without God cannot produce or explain evolution.

I have admitted, for the sake of the argument, that oxygen, hydrogen, carbon and nitrogen might of themselves unite in the formation of protoplasm, and that the substance thus formed might become a living being, a *moner* or an *amœba*. But I do not see how this could take place without something more than the agency of mere matter

and the so-called "forces" of matter. Life, and the phenomena of life, seem to be something different in kind, and not in degree only, from what had ever existed before they made their appearance. It seems to me to exceed the nature of mere evolution as truly and as completely as a chemical analysis, or synthesis rather, that should produce a new element, as carbon or chlorine from any of the others that are totally unlike it, or iron from oxygen and silex, or phosphorus from water and carbonic acid.

Precisely so, of each of the three great periods in evolution, there must have been a change in the law and a new thing produced (1) at the beginning of chemical action, down to the origin of protoplasm, and the beginning of animal life, (2) at the beginning of animal life through all the geological ages, during which we have the origin of the successive species beginning with the lowest or nearly the lowest, and extending up, in zoological order, and down in geological time, to the advent of man. And the (3) begun with the entrance of Mind as an agent and a force in mundane affairs with men—if we do not find mind properly so called below man, or if we do find it below him, then whenever we first find mind with real spontaneity of action, or freedom of choice and power of self control.

I have said of the word "Evolution" that it is but the name of a process, and that the process itself which the word denotes is no adequate explanation of anything. It may be used as a name for the Divine Method—the way in which God does things. But there can be no evolution that includes the whole process and system without God as a Supernatural Divine Agent, a Being acting as man does—freely, spontaneously, intelligently, with purpose and reference to ends or final causes. A First Cause necessarily presupposes, implies and proves final causes, as a part of the system of which He is First Cause.

It would be more proper to speak of evolutions in the plural, than of evolution, as if there were but one. For there must be, as we have seen, several successive states at the beginning and end of each of which there begun a new order of things or progress towards something higher, and ever pointing to something yet future, which quite possibly can

be fully accomplished and completed only when we shall have attained our final consummation and bliss in the eternal and glorious Kingdom that awaits those that follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth. In each of the successive stages there is a different law and higher agency, with a more complicated administration. First, only chemical and natural laws—then animal instincts, and finally reason and conscience; reason and conscience which point to and promise higher forms of spiritual life and a state of existence after this earthly life is ended, and earth itself shall have done all that it can do for us.

Evolution without God as the prime mover and ever acting agent, is but a very superficial view. It is unsatisfactory and incomprehensible to any one who seeks a thorough understanding of what he professes to believe. But God is essentially a miracle-worker. He *may* have a constant, agency in all things. He *may* be the one force that moves in all things that move and change regularly by law, without free agency and spontaneity of action. Where there is such agency and such action we have an originating, if not an original force, which may be, in the words of the apostle a "worker together with God:" or a worker against Him, in which case the "work" is sin. But He *must* be a miracle-worker.

Now, in a very important sense the works of man are miraculous as seen from mere inanimate nature. And the works of God, some of them at least, as seen from man's point of view, and in reference to him, must be miraculous in the highest, strictest sense of the word. We can have no other meaning for the word miracle than acts like these will indicate and fulfill.

And such miracles must have occurred all along in the history of the past. A beginning of life, or living organism, was one. The introduction of man, by immediate creation or otherwise, must have been another. The introduction and the origin of Christianity, the beginning of "the regeneration" (Matt. xix. 28), was another in the same line. And these point to another still to come—the resurrection and the glorification of the body, preparatory to a final state. The history of the past, beginning with geological time,

proves the first of our statements. History proves the third, and evolution, if we accept it as a law and method that has been manifested in the past, is our proof of the fourth. For I hold it to be incontrovertible that as certainly as the facts of nature prove evolution and give a meaning to the word, so certainly does evolution itself point to and predict a future of glory surpassing the present as far as anything in the present exceeds the past, something what no eye hath seen nor ear heard, and no heart can conceive.

There is one thing which the advocates of evolution have done for us, for which we may well be thankful. They have brought forward the doctrine of final causes, of working for results; or of events preceding events, and preparing the way for them; of all things working together as a whole, and for some one great result; so that hereafter it cannot be called in question—all that can be done is to pervert and caricature it. They have enabled us to see a new meaning in the words of our Blessed Lord. "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." "Hitherto" and up to this time. In the six "days" or periods and until man came *in creation*, and since man was created *in history*, in covenants and in revelations, in rites and ritual, by priest and by prophet, revealing Himself to those who would willingly receive His word and follow it, guiding the hearts of those who cared not for Him, so that they should also do the thing He would have done, though "it was not in their heart," and they "meant" no such thing (Isa. x. 6, &c.), until "in the fulness of time," and when all things were ready, Christ came in the flesh. Hitherto, since the creation it was God in history. But now a new age begins; it is the "regeneration," and God works in His church to convert the world and prepare the people for that second coming, that glorious coming that awaits us—to come, no one can tell when or how soon. But in all, through all, God works. He does not the less make the sun to rise and set, or grass to grow, or the "hinds to calve." He does not the less guide and control in the destinies of nations. But His work is more conspicuous and notable now in the hearts of those who through faith and obedience seek to be conformed to His blessed will. Hitherto God hath wrought, and now and from that date Christ

works in His new way, and will work until, seeing the travail of His soul, His heart shall be satisfied, and His blessedness and His glory shall have become complete in the number of the redeemed.

But the one great inspiring thought, made manifest and conspicuous above all else, is the thought that hitherto GOD *worketh!* in all things and everywhere, and not six days only in some way off time, as we have been taught. Without him evolution is nothing; nature is nothing, and man could not have been. We may go so far as to say that He is the one force; which in its various forms we call heat, and light, and attraction and such like—and most certain it is that without HIM there could have been no such phenomenon. I say we may affirm this doctrine, and I do not see how metaphysics can altogether disprove it. But it seems to me far more likely that He has created the atoms and molecules, and masses, so that they attract, repel, and act upon each other in various ways, and in ways of their own, as man himself acts of himself spontaneously. But at any rate God IS and “is all in all.” Without Him nothing that exists could have existed. Without him nothing that has occurred could have occurred, and without Him there is nothing in the future to hope for or desire. So true, even from a purely scientific point of view, are those words of S. Paul, the soundest science, concurring in this with the profoundest theology. “In Him we live, and move, and have our being.”

W. D. WILSON.

THE CHURCH AND THE NEGRO.

FOR us the negro is not in Africa; he is in the United States. He is here nearly seven millions strong—more than twice as many negroes as there were white people at the time our Government was established. They are practically pagans. Christianity has but slightly affected either their understanding or their morals. The awful picture drawn by Dr. Tucker of Mississippi, at the last Church Congress, has never been gainsaid. It is substantially true. Here and there, there is an “Uncle Tom;” but for every one such there are a hundred thousand savages.

1. *Are these people accessible by our Church?*
2. *By what processes can they be reached?*
3. *Is it desirable to reach them?*

Let us consider the last question first. Is it expedient to plan for them *as a race*? The late General Convention distinctly decided that it was not. The Convention took this ground chiefly on account of the opening missionary address by the Bishop of Alabama. The effect of it was much deepened later on in the session by a speech of Dr. Goodwin of Pennsylvania, to the same purport.

The attention of the Convention was so filled with the matter of Prayer Book Revision that it examined *nothing* else carefully. Witness the action upon Lay Readers, which, as a principle was monstrous, and as law, not worth the paper it was written upon. So, in this case, the House did not have time to weigh and reject the very cheap sentimentality which moved it.

No color line! No caste in the Church! Jesus Christ knows neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free! All are equal in the Church of God! All brethren in one household!

These be very pretty sentiments. They were applauded. They were received as a true statement of the issue.

Their theory was acted upon,—and the Negroes were left outside, just where they have been all these years!

The trouble with these cheap catchwords (which usually come most glibly from men who do not act upon them), is that they confuse the issue. There is a very easy way to avoid a color line in the Church. It is by having but one color in it. That is the case now. The Negro race in this country, our Church, as such, has not touched. With the *Mulattoes* we have been measurably successful. *But they are a distinct people!*

Ignorance, or forgetfulness of this fact probably had much to do with the action taken by the General Convention. The idea prevailed that the present machinery of the Church might safely be trusted to seize the "best" among the colored people, and fit them to become propagandists among their race. It must be remembered that the "race" of this class is not the Negro. Their sympathies are not with him. They are with the white. They do not like the colored people, and they are not trusted by them. In too many instances they are not deserving of trust. Their nature is against them. No man can conceive the turbulent hell which the presence of a few drops of white blood in a colored man's veins creates in that man's soul. The most intelligent and the most upright Mulatto I ever knew declared—with the glare of a wild beast in his eyes the while—"I could curse God for my white blood."

Our Church cannot reach the Negro through the Mulatto. Christianity will not diffuse itself downward that way. As a matter of history it never has done so. It will not do so now. The colored people call these others "white niggers." The gulf between them and what we call "their own people" is impassable. Among colored clergymen, as a rule, the successful ones have been the black ones. They are filled with a deep love for their race, and they are not ashamed of them.

Of the colored members of our Church in this country five-sixths have white blood. We have not reached the Negroes yet.

Is it well to think of them or plan for them *as a people*? Can they not be safely left for the Church, in her various parishes, to deal with as individuals?

The reply is: The Church, in the various localities where

they are, has had opportunity for more than a hundred years to reach them after this fashion—and has not done it. The Church people, in the South, *did* not do it in the past, and *can* not do it now. The simple truth is, they are too poor. Whatever may be their good will—and with a few conspicuous exceptions their will is good—they are not able. No one will ever know the straits to which the southern people have been reduced since the war. They have never told it themselves. They are a proud, reticent race. After the surrender, the Chaplain and his flock—what was left of it—went home together, and found their Church tumbling into ruin—maybe torn with a shell—maybe with the ordure of cavalry horses in it. For nearly twenty years they have been trying to rebuild their waste places. They have all they can do to feed their own sheep. During all these years, also, they have been compelled, by no fault of their own, to regard the negroes as their political opponents.

Now, they ask the Church at large for help to enable them to reach this emancipated people. But they ask for money, and not for advice. Above all they deprecate (and the General Convention sustained them in this) “as inconsistent with true Catholicity and detrimental to the interests of all concerned, the provision of separate organizations and definite legislation for the peoples embraced within the communion of this Church.”

The General Convention sustained this view. It sustained it against the earnest arguments of those who have shown themselves to be most deeply interested in the work; against such men as Bishop Dudley of Kentucky, and Dr. Porter of South Carolina.

The arguments which sustained this position were two:

1. That ecclesiastical legislation with reference to any particular class, is bad in principle, unchurchly, uncatholic, unchristian.
2. That the exigency in this case is not such as to demand it.

We will consider the latter first.

In his address the Bishop of Alabama said:

We must rid ourselves of the idea that we have to deal with these people in large masses. There are no symptoms of any such thing. The great body

of the colored people are engulfed by other religious systems. Few come to us.

Less than twenty-four hours before these words were spoken I was asked to meet the Bishops of Connecticut, Central New York and Alabama, and did so, to confer with them concerning Mrs. Buford's work in Virginia. I called attention to the fact that there are in Brunswick Co., Va., *two thousand* plantation negroes standing ready to come into the Church; that I had seen them and talked with them and preached to them; that within the last three years clergymen from outside the Diocese where they are, had visited them and baptised *three hundred* of their children; that I had helped administer the Holy Communion to *five hundred* of them at one service; that a day school is being supported for them, and attended by three hundred of their children; that these people were being ministered to, as best they might, by a Lay Reader sent to them at the advice of the Bishop of Connecticut, until such time as the Bishop of Virginia would allow a Priest to be sent to them; that the Bishop of Virginia had observed no terms of courtesy to them or to those who tried to minister to them; that these people were waiting, and had been waiting for five years, for the door of the Church to be opened to them; and that I was credibly informed, by direct witnesses, of the same state of things existing in a locality in North Carolina, and in one in Mississippi.

The opportunity *does* exist. The negroes either move in masses, or they do not move at all. Out of all compare, the most hopeful field for missionary work our Church has ever had is among the negroes in the south.

But can the Church, as such, work it? Or must we leave it to the ability or the caprice of each diocesan conscience and purse?

Is it competent to the General Convention to take the responsibility for the work away from the dioceses where they are, and to place it elsewhere?

That the General Convention possess the *power* to do so I think no one will seriously question. The idea is not a new one. In 1874 the House of Bishops appointed a committee consisting of Bishops Atkinson, Williams, Stevens,

Vail, and Gregg, to report upon "the appointment of Suf-fragan Bishops, and of Bishops for Freedmen and Foreign-ers." The Committee brought in a majority and a minor-ity report. The report of the *minority* was adopted. That was: "It is inexpedient to take any action."

In 1873 *Bishop Whittingham* wrote:

The plan of an episcopate for our colored population is by no means new to me. Long before the war I had been driven to meditate on it, by conviction that the blacks in my own diocese could not be efficiently provided for on our present scheme. The double, mutually compensatory and compleatory kinds of jurisdiction, topical and lingual; or distributed by metes and bounds, for a certain portion of the population, and by race or language (distributed over or scattered through the same metes or bounds, with or without recognition of them), to a certain other portion or portions of a collimital population, I believe to have been existent, and more or less extensively employed throughout the Church in all ages. I, for one, am ready to enter upon endeavors to devise and execute such a plan.

Of course, in the outset, it must of necessity have a missionary character, and be constituted with a distinct recognition of a steady process of evanishment in proportion as the several races or tongues should become merged in the general mass of the community.

Every bishop in the American Church is the Episcopal descendant of a bishop who came to England as the bishop of a partially Christianized race which dwelt in the territory of previously existing episcopates.

It is too late in the day, and we are not the people to question the catholicity of a bishop for the negroes.

2. But is it expedient? It would be "class legislation." It would acknowledge the "color line." "It would confuse jurisdictions." "It would require a change of canons." Yes. It will be a very serious business, possibly a difficult business. There is a very easy way to escape the labor. We have only to do nothing. If we let the colored man alone he will let us alone. There is no "color line" in the Church now, because there is no color. And this after a hundred years of Church life with millions of colored people in the limits of our Church. "The great body of the colored people are engulfed by other religious systems." Whose fault is it? Whoever may have been to blame in the past, it is the whole Church's opportunity now.

It is best to recognize facts. The distinction of race does exist. It is worse than idle to shut our eyes to it. It is

not alone a question of color or education, or social rank; it is a question of nature. No amiable blindness will change the facts. Our Church cannot with her present machinery carry the Gospel to the negroes. We recognize this in Liberia and in Hayti; why not recognize it in the United States? It would be less pleasant than the present theory, but it would be true, and therefore hopeful.

Let us put the present theory at its best. Suppose each southern bishop to carry this poor people as a burden upon his soul. And indeed most of them do. Suppose he has ample means to support missionaries.

Now, first, where are the missionaries? The bishop cannot to-day fill the vacant parishes. Last year the net increase in the clergy of our Church was *one for every two dioceses!*

Raise up a colored ministry? The Standing Committee bars the path of every applicant with a canon! Latin! Greek! Church History! or a dispensation!

The last General Convention took its stand upon the principle of no class legislation. Against this position three separate measures bruised themselves and fell. They were devised by the friends of the colored people. They all took the form of general acts. And because they were capable of general application, they all three came to grief.

1. Dr. Porter, from the Conference at Sewanee, proposed a canon authorizing the construction of a missionary organization in any diocese; requiring the appointment of a "Missionary Committee," who should be to that organization, its clergy, candidates for orders and people, to all intents and purposes what the Standing Committee is to the rest of the diocese.

This was voted down for the distinct reason that the scheme would be just as possible in Maine, where it would be vicious, as in South Carolina, where it would be helpful.

2. The committee on canons reported a resolution recommending concurrence in an amendment proposed by the House of Bishops to Title I, Can. 2, Sub. Sec. 16, as follows:

If the Bishop, on consideration of his case, encourage him to proceed, he shall procure and lay before the Standing Committee a testimonial signed by

at least two presbyters of this Church, certifying that in their opinion the postulant possesses such special qualifications as will make his ministry useful, and adding any other reasons for a dispensation which they may believe to exist.

The Rev. Dr. Goodwin, with the same charms and candor which marked his objection to the former policy as being "special," objected to this as being "general." That is a modification which would open the way into the ministry for uneducated colored men in Virginia, would also open it to uneducated white men in Pennsylvania.

3. The Rev. Dr. Gray, of Tennessee, moved that "*the Board of Missions be urged to appropriate \$50,000 per annum for work among the colored people.*"

This was almost unanimously rejected, on the ground that the House had never instructed the Board of Managers in the matter of appropriations to particular objects.

And so, the Convention having at the outset been led by specious arguments into taking a false position, found itself unable all the way through to do anything which would help to bring our Church to the negro.

But push the supposition farther. Allow a Southern Bishop to be full of zeal for this work; allow that he has ample means at his disposal; and that he can secure all the missionaries he desires. What tools will these missionaries use? The negro cannot read. A service which supposes that every worshipper shall have a Prayer Book in his hand is impossible for him. Of course we all know that liturgical worship existed for fourteen hundred years before the art of printing. Our Church does not take the ground that public worship is impossible until people have learned to read. But still, to fit our liturgy to the needs of an illiterate congregation, and at the same time assure the teaching of our doctrine, is a delicate task. It requires more time and care and authority than any diocesan possesses. Even if he could do so, every time a colored congregation uses such a service they break the law of the Church whose very object is to change their religion from extravagance to order and law!

It is better to face the facts and provide for them. The whites and the blacks cannot be dealt with in the same way,

even though they do live in the same diocese. The simple question is: Shall we have them as a distinct race within the Church, or let them remain as a separate race without the Church? The whites and negroes cannot worship together yet. How many parishes are there in the South who will allow their Church to be used in the afternoon or evening, when it is idle, for a service for the negroes? How many such parishes are there in the North? Not many. What colored Priest is there in the South who would venture to *sit down* in a white man's parlor? The gulf is impassable, and will be so for a century to come. It is not altogether wrong that it should be. The Church has never committed herself to the communistic heresy that all men are equal. They are not. Read the Catechism.

A hundred years of beggarly results have proven the folly of our method.

We have done better work with the savage Indians who speak an unknown tongue. We have done better work in Japan and in Africa than among these people who live at our doors, wait at our tables, and speak our own language.

We have refused to look the facts in the face.

But if we recognize the fact of a separate race and arrange our machinery accordingly, will it introduce confusion and break up order? Wise men do not think so. Canonists are not apprehensive. Bishop Whittingham saw in it an old Catholic usage. The Bishop of Connecticut sees no danger. Who does?

Within a month I heard two of the most honored Bishops in the South declare that if the Church would consecrate a Bishop for the colored people they would each be willing if they could to resign their Dioceses to become such Bishop.

But our Church knows of nothing but *territorial* dioceses. No more she does, nor does she know of any other kind than *territorial parishes*! And yet, as a matter of fact, in only two or three dioceses do the parishes have metes and bounds. If rectors do not quarrel about the ownership of this or that member of their flocks, why should Bishops? Especially when the line of demarcation is as broad as the difference between black and white? The line which separates the races is so conspicuous that all diocesan and paro-

chial lines fade out of sight beside it. There can be no conflict of authority. The Bishop of the colored race would touch existing diocesan affairs as little as though he and his flock dwelt in Japan. At any rate we are convinced by all experience in the past, and by the *non possumus* of the last General Convention, that it is this or nothing. It is either two peoples within the Church, or one people left outside.

S. D. McCONNELL.

RECENT LITERATURE.

The Medical Language of S. Luke.—A proof from internal evidence that “The Gospel According to S. Luke” and “The Acts of the Apostles,” were written by the same person, and that the writer was a medical man. By the Rev. William Kirk Hobart, LL.D., ex-scholar, Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.

This is a book of curious and unusual research. As its title indicates, it is devoted to an investigation rarely entered upon, but nevertheless of singular interest to the student of Holy Scripture. The author’s purpose, as he states it, “is to show, from an examination of the language employed in the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, that both are the works of a person well acquainted with the language of the Greek Medical Schools—a fact which, if established, will strongly confirm the belief that the writer of both was the same person, and was the person to whom they have been traditionally assigned by the Church, who is mentioned by S. Paul as ‘Luke, the Beloved Physician’—an identity which some have doubted or denied.”

In carrying out his design, Dr. Hobart arranges his matter under two heads, viz.: (1) Words and phrases employed in the account of the miracles of healing, or those of an opposite character, which show plainly professional knowledge and usage of words; (2) Words and phrases employed in the general narrative, not directly relating to medical

subjects, but such as a physician, from his medical training, would be likely to employ. By a copious induction and careful investigation of terms, Dr. Hobart presents the argument in its complete form, and points out that the evidence is *cumulative*, and that the words adduced as examples are very numerous, considering the extent of S. Luke's writings.

From the nature of the case the present volume appeals most forcibly to men trained in medical science, but there is quite enough in it to attract the attention and arouse the interest of non-professional men. In a note at the end of the treatise there is pointed out the great probability that S. Paul availed himself of S. Luke's professional services. An Index is also furnished containing all the Greek words used in the book, which is both appropriate and valuable. The volume is dedicated to the Rt. Rev. W. Alexander, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, distinguished as a scholar as well as an eloquent preacher; and it forms one of a series of educational and exegetical works known as the "Dublin University Press Series."

A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version. By Philip Schaff, D. D., President of the American Committee on Revision. With Facsimile Illustrations of MSS. and Standard Editions of the New Testament. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this solid and attractive volume Dr. Schaff has brought together a very large amount of valuable and interesting matter. He prepared the book at the request of a number of his fellow laborers in the Revision work, and he has embodied in it the substance of his Introduction to the American edition of Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament. Several additional chapters are added, besides important contributions from Bishop Lee, of Delaware (a member of the American Revision Company), Dr. Ezra Abbott, and others. The volume is meant to be a manual of textual criticism of the Greek Testament and its application to the English Version, which Dr. Schaff rightly pronounces "a desideratum of our literature."

The first six chapters are devoted to "The Language of the New Testament," "Manuscripts and Ancient Versions

of the New Testament," "Patristic Quotations," "Textual Criticism," and a succinct "History of the Printed Text." The seventh chapter gives a fair account of the Authorized Version, and the eighth supplies a history of the Revised Version of 1881. A number of Appendixes are added, containing a List of Printed Editions of the Greek New Testament, *Fac-similes* of Standard Editions of the same, List of English and American Revisers, and List of changes made by the American and adopted by the English Committee. An Alphabetical Index and an Index of Scriptural Passages are also furnished.

Without dwelling here upon the critical portions of the work, we call attention to the two chapters which are of chief interest at present, those, namely, in which are given a clear though brief account of the Authorized Version, and a fuller narrative of the origin and progress of the Revised Version. Dr. Schaff, like all competent judges, pronounces a glowing eulogy on the A. V. "No version (he says) has such a halo of glory around it; none is the child of so many prayers; none has passed through severer trials; none is so deeply rooted in the affections of the people that use it; and none has exerted so great an influence upon the progress of the Christian religion and true civilization at home and abroad. It is interwoven with all that is most precious in the history and literature of two mighty nations which have sprung from the Saxon stock. It is used day by day and hour by hour in five continents, and carries to every mission station in heathen lands the unspeakable blessings of the Gospel of peace." But, the English Bible of 1611 is not perfect, by any means, as Dr. Schaff reminds us, and he takes occasion to point out its various deficiencies and faults which need correction; such as, the lack two hundred and fifty years ago of a critical Greek text, inaccurate use of the article, pronoun, verb, preposition, etc., excessive variation in the use of English words for Greek equivalents, and using one or the same word for two or more Greek and Hebrew words. These and the like defects became more and more apparent as Biblical scholarship made progress in our century; and finally, in 1870, a formal attempt was entered upon to effect a revision and

correction of the old and much-loved Bible of our fathers. The New Testament was completed and published in 1881; the Old Testament is expected to be ready in its revised form early in 1884.

Dr. Schaff, from his position in connection with the work of revising the New Testament, is able to give, as he does, a full and carefully prepared narrative of the whole matter, commencing with the action of the Canterbury Convocation, the rules adopted, the American coöperation, etc. He then discusses the merits of the revision, as compared with the old version, its style, its improvements in rhythm, etc. He notes, also, some grammatical irregularities, some infelicities and inconsistencies, some improprieties of expression, and the like (chiefly due to the extreme conservatism and pragmatic obstinacy of the English company of Revisers); at the same time, as was to be expected, he speaks in very high terms of the excellence, as a whole, of the 1881 revision: "A minute, careful, and impartial examination of the Revision must lead to the conclusion that, in text and rendering, it is a very great improvement upon the Version of 1611, and the most faithful and accurate version of the Greek Testament ever made from Jerome down to the present date. Its merits are many and great; its defects are few and small, and mostly the result of over-fidelity to the Greek original, and to the English idiom of King James's Version. The defects, moreover, are on the surface, and could be easily removed by the revisers themselves, if they were called upon to do so. . . . We believe that the foundation of the Revision will *stand and outlast* all the criticisms." Dr. Schaff also deems it proper to give an account of the American part in the joint work (twenty pages), and arrives at the conclusion that "the Anglo-American Revision is the noblest monument of Christian union and coöperation in this nineteenth century."

We commend the learned professor's volume to our readers, to be used in connection with Dr. Goodwin's Notes and Strictures. The biblical student will find it useful and edifying to compare and contrast the one with the other.

Notes on the Late Revision of the New Testament. By the Rev. Daniel R. Goodwin, D.D., LL.D. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The earlier portion of this volume, with the Introduction, appeared some months ago in the *AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW*, and excited much attention among scholars. Dr. Goodwin has so plain and straightforward a way of dealing with the matter in hand that it was felt by all that his notes and strictures would be of especial value; and so it has proved. The present volume is really one of the best which has been produced in connection with the Revision of the New Testament in 1881, and is a positive addition to the literature of the subject.

In the Introduction (of ten pages) Dr. Goodwin gives briefly his reasons for undertaking the task he has accomplished. He pays all due respect to the learning and ability of the Revisers, but holds, nevertheless, that they have transgressed the chief rule by which they were to be guided in their work, viz., "to introduce as few alterations as possible in the text of the Authorized Version, consistently with faithfulness." It is commonly stated that 85,000 changes were made by the Revisers. "Now (says Dr. G.), the number of changes recognized by them in the Greek text, including those in the margin with the rest, is about 5,500; by far the greater part of which are of the least possible importance; and, of the others, a large number are still of very doubtful authority, the best textualists changing their minds from edition to edition. But, as we have before said, we now dispute none of those new readings. If to these we add, say, 10,000 changes more, as having been required by what could reasonably be called faithfulness to the original, we think a very generous allowance will have been made; for we cannot include in this class the cases where the Revisers have been inconsistent with themselves, or have substituted mere Grecisms of expression or of construction for idiomatic English. There will then remain nearly 20,000 changes, either wanton, or trifling, or consequential, or Grecisms, or inconsistencies—or, perchance, proposed improvements of the English style; as in their elaborate reconstructions of 'also,' 'therefore,' etc. As to

this last class of changes, we leave the English reader to judge whether in general, for good English style, the Revision is superior to the Authorized Version."

Having, further, freed his mind on the point of the Greek article and the charges against the Authorized Version of blundering in its rendering the Greek aorists, Dr. Goodwin next proceeds to furnish evidence in support of the value and importance of his strictures, by comparing and contrasting the Revision with the Authorized Version, in the Gospels and other books of the New Testament. He avers that, though his notes may seem extended and some of them very minute, they are not to be regarded as exhaustive. They are only specimens, drawn from a somewhat cursory examination of the Revision, and are by no means all that can be or ought to be said, before a final judgment be attained.

The learned Professor is very outspoken in his strictures and comments, and if there is, here and there, a little too much of the subacid flavor in his tone and language, the reader will readily forgive it, and will probably, on the whole, deem it not undeserved, under the circumstances. Certainly, we think, no one can read the present volume without feeling thankful to Dr. Goodwin that he has brought it out; for, apart from its value in other respects, it is a vigorous and well-timed defence of the translators of the Authorized Version and of the noble English classic which was the product of their labors.

The volume is excellently printed, and is particularly satisfactory in respect to its numerous quotations from the Greek. These are furnished with an accuracy as rare in American books as it is gratifying to the student of the original of the New Testament.

A Hand-Book of the English Versions of the Bible, with copious Examples illustrating the Ancestry and Relationship of the several Versions, and Comparative Tables. By J. I. Mombert, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

The present work is the result of several years' earnest, conscientious labor. It is intended primarily for scholars, but at the same time is admirably adapted for the use of all

intelligent readers of the English Bible. In carrying out his purpose, the writer has given full illustrative examples, drawn from the originals and versions in foreign tongues, with accompanying translations into English. An examination of the two comparative tables, at the beginning of the work, will convey a good idea of the labor involved in this part of the book. Commencing with the Anglo-Saxon and Earliest English Versions, Dr. Mombert takes up in order the Wicliffite Versions, together with Tyndale's and Coverdale's Versions. These occupy 150 pages, and contain matter of deep interest and value. Next, he traces carefully the steps preceding the period of King James's Version, and points out what was effected by the Roman Catholic efforts in this line, through the Rhemes New Testament and the Douay Bible. As is proper, the history of the Authorized Version (so-called, though there is no evidence of its ever having been "authorized" by the Church or the King), is fully discussed, and its merits, as a noble classic of our language, glowingly set forth.

Subsequent attempts at revision and improvement of the Authorized Version, by Dissenters as well as Churchmen, are also noted and characterized; and in the last chapter of the volume Dr. Mombert gives an account of the Anglo-American Revision of the New Testament, or, as it is commonly called, the Westminster Revision. Some fifty pages are devoted to this volume of 1881, and the learned Doctor rates it very highly, much more so than we are able to do. He gives it as his opinion that the work has been unduly faulted and treated rather ungenerously and harshly by the critics, a view of the matter with which the ablest writers, at home and abroad, do not accord.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist, however, on points open to discussion among scholars and divines, there can be no reasonable doubt that Dr. Mombert has furnished a very valuable and very timely Hand-Book of English Versions. It will be found, on examination, to satisfy fully all who are capable of judging of its real merits. There are added a Table of Contents (giving an excellent synopsis of matters in the several chapters), and two Indexes, which render the volume complete for the use of the

student. The publishers have further taken care that the work be produced in the best style of typography at the present day.

The Historic Faith: Short Lectures on the Apostles' Creed, by Brooke Foss Westcott, D. D., D. C. L., Regius Professor of Divinity and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

A series of lectures on the Apostles' Creed, delivered in 1880, and printed in fulfilment of a promise made to the hearers. Prepared for the pulpit, they treat the subject in a popular manner, avoiding technical language. The form of instruction is devotional rather than expository. The style, however, lacks simplicity and directness. More Saxon and shorter sentences would have been an improvement. Still one in a short time becomes accustomed to this, and is ready to overlook any peculiarity of the kind, in view of the thoughtful and edifying essays the book contains. The object is "to show the direct bearing of our Historic Faith upon our view of the world and of life."

In addition to the lectures, the author has given several appendices, of great learning and value. Of the two hundred and sixty pages more than a hundred are thus occupied. The subjects treated in them are these: The Idea of Religion; the Idea of Faith; the Creeds; the Divine Fatherhood; All-Sovereign and Almighty; Christology of the New Testament; the Universality of the Character of the Lord; the Blood of Christ; the Communion of Saints.

With such a range this volume will be welcome to the devout reader and to the thoughtful student. As an example of its direct and personal teaching we select the following:

Is it not true that being Christians we dissemble our hopes and our motives till we practically lose sight of them? that we hide from others first and then from ourselves the impulses by which we are most powerfully stirred, the aspirations which we most devoutly cherish? that we make the world the poorer by refusing to give it the example of what Christ has wrought in us?

Such dissimulation is beyond question better than the hypocrisy which affects lofty principles without feeling them. But it sets aside the charge which is laid upon us by our Creed, to do all things for God's glory. For, in Apostolic language, each Christian is in due measure himself a Christ, empowered by the gift of the Holy Spirit to announce the truth which he has learnt, to apply the atonement which he has received, to establish the kingdom

which he believes to be universal. Here it is, I repeat, that we fail most grievously. However repulsive the ostentation of religion may be, the suppression of faith is more perilous. Who can believe that the heart is full while the lips are silent? And in this our practice condemns us. We inherit and we use the powers of the faith, and yet we do not make it visible that we differ from those who willingly accept no such inheritance. We do not follow out our belief to follow its issues, asking ourselves again and again what it enables us to do and to bear and to hope more than other men; asking ourselves silently till the answer comes; and then letting the answer be seen in a life which is manifestly swayed by a present consciousness of the unseen and the eternal; which rests upon the conviction that the end of our being has been made attainable by the cross; which yields loyal obedience to a Lord, the symbol of whose sovereignty is sacrifice.

Old Testament Revision: a Handbook for English Readers. By Alexander Roberts, D.D. Second thousand. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Committee of Revision have now completed their work on the Old Testament. One of the members, Dr. Roberts, who has already given to the public a "Companion to the Revised Version of the Old Testament," now puts forth a volume to prepare the way for the forthcoming Revised Old Testament, by furnishing information on interesting and important points connected with that portion of Scripture. In easy and untechnical language, the author has presented a considerable amount of information which will, to the ordinary English reader, add greatly to the interest with which he will peruse the Old Testament when the "Revision" appears.

We rarely meet a book treating of this and kindred topics, so thoroughly readable. It is full of interest on almost every point on which the subject of revision has awakened curiosity. Besides some valuable essays on the language of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, the Talmud and Targums, and on ancient and modern versions of the Old Testament, the author gives several chapters of what he regards as improved translations of some Old Testament passages. But these are independent of any that may be accepted by the revision company. He significantly remarks of the forthcoming version:

It is to be hoped that the work will not be marked by that minute and really needless change, which is one of the greatest weaknesses of the Revised New Testament.

Some of the new readings given by our author certainly make the Scripture meaning clearer, and in some cases remove difficulties which have always suggested themselves to the mind. Thus, in our present version, Jacob awakening from his vision, is made to say:

If God will be with me and help me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, etc.,

Making Jacob's confession and worship of God, and his giving the tithe, conditional upon his being brought home in peace. But in the Hebrew the future tense does not begin until verse 22: so that it should read:

If the Lord will be my God, then shall this stone which I have set for a pillar be the house of God, and of all that thou hast given me I will surely give a tenth unto thee.

Gen. xlix. 10, is made more distinctly Messianic by the rendering:

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a lawgiver from between his feet until (He who is) Peace comes, and unto Him shall be the obedience of nations.

In Exodus iii. 22; xi. 2; xii. 35, 36, a seeming want of straightforwardness in the narrative as given in our present version is removed by an amended reading. The Hebrews did not *borrow* but *asked* jewels of the Egyptians, who were only too glad to *give* whatever they demanded in order to rid the land of them.

But we have not space for further illustration. The book will well repay a careful perusal.

The Alternative. A Study in Psychology. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

Neither title page nor advertisement give the slightest clue to the authorship of this volume. The writer is certainly an independent thinker, and has no reverence for the great masters in metaphysical science. On the very first page he pays his respects to them as follows:

If I am not deceived, the following pages will show that, in so far as the study of Mind is concerned, those who have affected to employ the method of research which exclusively proceeds on intuition and deduction, have been false to the method; have been betrayed into a morass of indefinite ideas and unwarranted assumptions; have, as regards the general, mistaken parts for their wholes; have been extremely perfunctory, so that while they have been ambitious to achieve exhaustive explanation, they have not been at pains to

provide for themselves solid standing ground; have got themselves into such a plight that their motions are no longer a means of progress; and that they have brought unmerited disgrace on the method which their indolence has misapplied.

He makes much of "unconscious knowledge." Substance he calls a pigment, "which, like a foreign body in an organism, has been from the first fretting and diseasing its *habitat*. Of this, philosophy is now, for the first time, rid." Again, "the confusion of will with intentional-in-stinct overcasts psychology, ethics and morality." A mental act which persists in remaining in the mind when we endeavor to be rid of it, he says, is not voluntary, and the delusion which Nature puts upon us that in respect to it we are free agents,

Exemplifies a delusion commensurate with nearly the whole of the practical life of mankind. The removal of the error exposes a fact of tremendous importance. Proving deductively that mind includes an unconscious part, the theatre of unconscious mental events, and inductively that this part includes or is comprised by the brain, and that an unconscious mental event—a corporo-mental event—is a condition *sine qua non* of a consciousness. I show that nearly the whole of the practical life of man is, has been, and for an indefinite time to come, threatens to be transacted by an unconscious force or agent—that we have been puppets, not personal agents—dupes as well as puppets—and, in view of the prevalence of wretchedness in human life, victims.

But our author is not only an independent and original thinker, but a "free thinker" as well. He says:

The vicarious charity or counterfeit of charity, which Christ set in motion, was a means of indirect culture of benevolence, and has operated to such good effect that Christian charity is now, according to the intention of Christ, extinguishing the fires of hell, protesting that the apprehension of Retribution as justice is offspring of ferocity, a devilish thing so entrenched in human nature that even Christ could not take it by assault—one which, if not slowly sapped, must forever pervert the moral sense.

Again, what he styles "moral purity" is something which is distinguishable by its aversions. "It is averse to fierceness, including anger of every kind and degree, and to the violence they inspire." It is even averse to the anger caused by moral evil.

But this aversion only obtains when moral purity is approaching its adult state—when the purity protests that the story of Christ's recourse to violence in the temple is a fiction.

Salad for the Solitary and the Social. By Frederick Saunders. New York. Thomas Whittaker.

The present is a new and choice edition of an old-time favorite. All who have enjoyed its rich and varied contents in other days, will be glad to welcome it in its new and fitting dress; and to all who have not yet made acquaintance with the volume, we promise a rare treat in store. For it abounds in good things, not all of one sort or flavor, of course, just as a salad needs the judicious mingling of different ingredients, in order to adapt it to the taste of educated, civilized palates. "The Social," no less than "the Solitary," are properly cared for by its writer, and he or she must be a singularly unsocial being, or a strangely uncouth specimen of human kind, who does not find here something to interest and furnish food for mental and moral growth and progress.

Mr. Saunders is well known as one of our most accomplished and versatile men of letters, and has earned the confidence and respect of a large circle of readers. His work deserves all the more hearty recognition because, as a Christian as well as a scholar and gentleman, he has given nothing here but what Christian gentlemen and women may freely partake of and profit by. The present edition is neatly and tastefully gotten up, and the publisher deserves thanks for furnishing it at a very reasonable cost, all things considered. The illustrations are from original designs, and add to the interest and value of the work.

The International Revision Commentary on the New Testament. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This addition to the large number of commentaries published of late years, claims attention on the ground of its being based upon the Revised Version of 1881, and also being the production of English and American scholars and members of the Revision Committee. There are already five volumes issued, covering the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and the active and busy Dr. Schaff is general editor as well as a contributor to the work. The volume now before us is the fourth, on the Gospel according to JOHN (so these gentlemen *will* call this Apostle and the other old *saints*), and comes from Dr. Milligan, of Aberdeen, and Dr. Moulton, of Cambridge. Dr. Milligan is very favorably known by his able treatise on the Resurrec-

tion of our Lord; and in the present volume he brings together a large amount of valuable matter in illustration of the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Schaff claims for this and the companion volumes that they are every way adapted for the use of Sunday-school teachers and other students of the Bible, both as regards freshness and cheapness. So far as we have been able to examine the Commentary, we think the claim a just and fair one.

From the same publishers we have the concluding volume of

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. Vol. IV. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This Commentary, in large and handsomely printed volumes, is announced as being prepared "by English and American scholars of various Evangelical Denominations." It is supplied with illustrations and maps, and Dr. Schaff is editor and contributor to this as well as the International Revision Commentary. The same scholars, both on this and on the other side of the Atlantic, have been engaged in contributing to the fulness and completeness of the Commentary. The present volume contains the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation of S. John. Professor J. Angus, of London, has taken the Epistle to the Hebrews in hand, and in an introduction of 22 pages presents the argument for the Pauline authorship of this Epistle very clearly and very forcibly. Those students who have been led into doubt and uncertainty on this point, by such writers as Dean Alford and Canon Farrar, may refresh themselves with Dr. Angus's vigorous setting forth of the question in his Introduction. They will there see that the easy, confident way, in which some critics dispose of S. Paul's being the author, will not bear examination; and further, that, although positive certainty is not to be attained, yet they may rest quietly in the belief of the Epistle to the Hebrews being rightly assigned by the Church to S. Paul.

Without dwelling at this time upon the excellent work done by Dr. Gloag and others upon the Catholic Epistles, we may mention that Professor Milligan has prepared an Introduction and Commentary upon the Apocalypse. The

Introduction covers 26 pages, and discusses the authenticity of the Book, the Date and place of writing, the Design and General Characteristics, the Structure and Plan, and the Interpretation of the Apocalypse. This last is the most interesting point, and Dr. Milligan here expresses his dissatisfaction with the three prevailing systems of interpretation, viz., the continuously historical, the præterist, and the futurist. His view is rather that the Book takes no note of time; that the symbols are symbolical of principles; and that S. John does not give us a history of either early, or mediæval, or last events written of before they happened, but furnishes a solemn warning to Christians in every age to consider the signs of their own time. Dr. Milligan carries out his views and principles with much earnestness, and with conscientious devotion to the truth and cogency of Holy Scripture. The volume as a whole is fully equal in merit to the preceding volumes.

Thomas Jefferson. American Statesmen Series. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

It is fitting that Mr. Morse should contribute to the series of which he is editor, and it is no slight honor that he has so well accomplished his task. Mr. Jefferson has held, and still holds, so large a place in the annals of statesmanship and in the history of parties, that to give an impartial and truthful presentation of the man, personally and officially, requires a judgment so clear and a purpose so honest that most men would hesitate to enter upon the work. We are glad that Mr. Morse yielded to no such timidity, and that, in the exercise of a fearless and frank criticism, has given his readers a specimen of admirable biography.

There is no period of our national history more interesting than that coincident with the organization of the Republican in opposition to the Federal party. Hamilton and Jefferson may be said to have been the representatives of the divergent governmental veins, as well as the moral and intellectual vitality of the two rival parties. Because of the bitter partisanship of the times it is difficult, by even the most careful elimination of falsehood and malice, to arrive, always, at just conclusions concerning the acts of men or the policy of parties. We think, however, that Mr.

Morse has employed an equitable balance, and has succeeded in the distribution of honest weight to the leading characters of the Jeffersonian epoch.

To notice in detail the public life of Mr. Jefferson, as given by the author, is not necessary, and would forestall the interest of the reader. He gives his official career from the House of Burgesses through his second term as President to his retirement and death at Monticello. We will only say that the life of such a man at such a period of national history must necessarily be intensely interesting, and that Mr. Morse, by his patient research, apt narrative and scrupulous candor has added to the intrinsic attractions of his subject.

Albert Gallatin. American Statesmen Series. By John Austin Stevens. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Hamilton and Gallatin are names scarcely separable in the provincial history of the nation. To the one belongs the honor of establishing a system on a broad and solid foundation, and to the other the application of principles of financial administration, consonant with and derivable from that system. Although the two men differed widely in their theories of government, and in their party alliances, yet it is interesting to observe their agreement in the main features of treasury management. It is evident that in underlying principles and policy they were in unison. It is also a noteworthy coincidence that these two greatest of our national financiers were of foreign birth and both men of scientific attainments, wide learning and elegant culture.

Full justice has not hitherto been done to Mr. Gallatin's memory. He occupies no inferior place in the history of the Nation. By birth he was a Swiss, and came to this country when nineteen years old. After a somewhat purposeless career of a year or two, he settled in Pennsylvania, and it was not long before we find him a leading member of the Legislature. After that he was for a brief time United States Senator, a member of successive Congresses, Minister to England, France and Russia, and one of the Commissioners who concluded the Treaty of Ghent with Great Britain.

Perhaps his greatest service to the country was as treas-

urer for twelve years, in which he applied certain principles of administration that remain as precedents. His persistent effort was to establish safety and economy as the basis of action, looking at questions in dry light rather than in the glare of speculative theories. He was no doctrinaire in finance, although, from his nativity and his early association with the Ferney coterie, he derived a taint of radicalism in politics and religion. His name should ever be remembered as example and authority for two economic principles of national finance, viz.: 1st. To have a surplus of revenue over expenditure. 2d. With every loan to have an appropriation or sinking fund for its liquidation. He was strong in practical details, and, by his skillful management, succeeded in keeping the national debt at a minimum figure, and, ultimately, in its final extinguishment.

The details of his public career, and of his closing years in New York, where he was identified with the most important phases of its metropolitan life, are all given in the interesting, instructive and appreciative narrative of Mr. Stevens.

Atheism and Theism, by John G. Wilson, Minister of the Word of God. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

In the first chapter the author very clearly shows the folly of the Atheist's denial of the existence of God, and its evil tendency in producing moral corruption, and exhibits the reasonableness of a belief in the being and attributes of God and His government over the world as taught in the Bible. The remaining chapters are on the Origin of Evil, the Scheme of Redemption and the Final Result, with answers to objections and explanations.

The author's views of foreordination are not strictly Calvinistic. He, however, maintains the doctrine of imputed righteousness; and in discussing the origin of evil he holds to the representation theory—Adam sinning and suffering as man's representative, and consequently Christ as the second Adam, being man's representative also—instead of our partaking the nature of Adam by generation and the nature of Christ by regeneration. The author is also a firm believer in the doctrine of the millennium, or personal reign of Christ on earth for a thousand years. He is neither a

Universalist nor an Annihilationist, nor does he accept the doctrine of the eternal torment of the wicked. He believes in a punishment hereafter which is not only retributive but one which is to be continued until voluntary submission to the Divine government is effected. But even then, when the wicked are subdued, "They will not and never can attain to the special salvation of believers; but in their everlasting exclusion therefrom will have an everlasting punishment, though exempt from pain or torment. Yet they will loathe their former wickedness and be ashamed of their unbelief and disobedience by which they rendered themselves unworthy of the special salvation." Under the personal reign of Christ in the millennium "the saints will possess the kingdom in connection with Christ, and all people, nations and languages shall serve them." The inhabitants of the realms of the blessed he represents by three classes: those described as the four living ones and the four and twenty elders who sing the new song. "Thou art worthy," &c., next are those who are around the central throne and join the angel's song, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain," &c., but not having been redeemed by the blood of Jesus are not kings and priests unto God; lastly, all intelligent beings except the saints, and who have their song also, though that is not the song of the saints.

The Middle Kingdom.—A Survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants, by S. Wells Williams, LL.D. Revised edition, with illustrations and a new map of the Empire; in two volumes. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons.

This work by its revision starts upon a new lease of life. For more than thirty years it has been an authority on all that pertains to the interior life or external relations of China. Nothing that has been published, since its first appearance, has supplanted it in the judgment of scholars or of the reading public generally. Within a few years past several works of some pretension and merit have appeared, but none of them could claim superiority to this standard, either as to interest or excellence. Now that it has been enlarged by additional information, supplied by

the advancing history of the empire and its wider relations to the outside world, it will more than ever be the one recognised encyclopædic authority on China and the Chinese.

Dr. Williams has had exceptional advantages in the preparation of his elaborate work, and has withal special qualifications as an intelligent and close observer of the static and dynamic questions in social and political life. He had been a resident in China for some years prior to the publication (in 1848) of the first edition. He had been an editor and publisher in the Chinese language, and was recognised as a Chinese scholar of high merit. Again, his tastes and his occupation opened up to him an intimacy with learned Chinamen, and helped him to an accurate acquaintance with the historic sources of its literature and life. But he returned to China and, remaining twenty-seven years longer, added greatly to his knowledge of the government and people. During that time he was of great service to the United States in official relations by assisting in the consummation of the treaty of 1858 between China and our Government, and also by his duties as Secretary of the U. S. Legation at Peking. His position has been such that as a close observer he could watch and note all the changes that have occurred in the social, moral, business and political life during his second residence, and these, because showing some signs of progress in the hitherto stereotyped kingdom, increase the value of the second edition.

Perhaps there is no person with larger resources or more competency in all directions than Dr. Williams for the preparation of such a work. His knowledge may in large measure be said to be *first hand*, and he has so marshaled it by method and classification as to give, at the same time, both a detailed and comprehensive view of the great kingdom. The literary quality of the work is all that is desirable in narrative or historic composition. It so distributes its details and facts as to make its statements no less interesting than profitable to the inquisitive reader.

The work is in two large and elegant octavo volumes.

Beyond the Gates. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A strong hand, guided by the swift, unerring instinct of dramatic skill, is characteristic of everything which Miss Phelps has written.

"Beyond the Gates" is the daring flight of a human soul into a region, where, after all, the wings must begin to droop; for, as she wisely has quoted: "There are celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial; but the glory of the celestial is one and the glory of the terrestrial is another." To that celestial glory we have not yet attained.

To those of us who believe "that the former things have passed away," this book will be nothing more than a study of that mystic state, in which soul and body seem for a time to separate from each other, coupled with fresh explorations into the philosophical, or, more properly speaking, transcendental abstractions of Swedenborg, of whose spirit and teachings Miss Phelps is evidently an earnest disciple.

The keynote of the book is "a sense of infinite safety. Nothing more can happen to me! And yet at the same time I felt that I was at the entrance of all experience."

There are passages of exceptional beauty, others of wonderful force and suggestiveness, as for example, when speaking of her first impressions of another world, she describes herself as "understanding for the first time the meaning of generic terms; as entering into the secret of all absolute glory; as if poetical or philosophical phrases were now become attainable facts—in short, each possessing that individual existence which dreamers upon earth dare to believe, and of which no doubter can be taught."

In this region of speculation the borderland of the fanciful may be touched upon, as in the "Color Symphony;" and yet, to quote again from the author, "Each comes to his own, by his own," and it is not for us to say in what manner the God-bestowed gifts, poetry, painting and music, may find their perfect development in Heaven.

In the queries which are suggested as subjects of interest throughout eternity, there is much to arrest the thoughtful reader, and yet an element of grotesqueness, which jars

somewhat. In the rather startling inquiry as to the occupation of the "ex-hod carriers and cooks" we recall a similar vein to that which described the farmer and his potato field in "Gates Ajar."

Whatever may be, and undoubtedly is, the tendency of Miss Phelps' writings as giving hope of a decision for weal or woe beyond the grave, we cannot but be impressed by the reverential spirit which must have inspired the description of that most sacred of all themes to handle—the meeting of a ransomed soul with its Redeemer. It is evidently the experience of one who "knows in whom she has believed, and that He is able to keep that which has been committed to Him against that day."

To a certain class of minds this lifting of the veil will be of service in helping them to formulate some tangible idea of the life beyond.

There are others to whom the words, "Be not afraid; in my Father's house are many mansions; I go to prepare a place for you," will afford greater consolation and hope than the most thrilling utterances of any earthly prophet, although his lips may be touched, as it were, with a coal of fire from the very altar itself, beyond that which it is "given him to reveal."

Autobiography and Letters of Orville Dewey, D. D.—Edited by his Daughter, Mary E. Dewey. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Dr. Dewey was the most human preacher among the Unitarians during his day. He died in 1882. He outlived his fame, and when he passed away, his death made scarcely a ripple upon the surface of affairs. He was chiefly a great preacher, spending the main part of his ministry among the Quakers and Unitarians of New Bedford, and the large-minded leaders of the late Dr. Bellows's congregation in New York City. His health broke down early, and with the pen alone he was not able to sustain the reputation which he early acquired as a nervous, spiritually-minded and effective preacher. The story of his life, as told by himself, was worth the telling, and shows the best type of the Unitarian preacher, a type that is now almost wholly extinct. His correspondents were Emerson,

Bryant, Bellows, and Catharine M. Sedgwick, and his letters on religious and ethical subjects, reveal a deep, tender, and profoundly spiritual nature. There is much to be learned from this volume if one takes the trouble to read it carefully through.

The Philosophical Basis of Theism by Samuel Harris, D.D.—New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Harris is the Professor of systematic theology in the theological department of Yale College. He has devoted himself to the kindred studies of philosophy and theology all his life, and in this volume presents in admirable form the ripe fruits of those studies for the use of a larger company than his immediate pupils. The work is devoted to an examination of the personality of man to ascertain his capacity to know and serve God, and of the validity of the principles underlying the defense of theism. It covers the preliminary philosophical questions, pertaining to the reality, processes and limits of human knowledge, and to the constitution of man as a personal being. With much of the reasoning in this work, every clergyman is more or less familiar. The part to which one will turn first of all is that relating to personality and to the objections to the existence of personal beings. Dr. Harris proves that man is able to know himself in the two systems of nature and personality and is able to reach the conclusion that the existence of a personal God is a necessary doctrine of scientific knowledge. The style of the treatise is clear and strong, and nothing escapes the writer which has been urged by modern scientists against the belief in a personal God. It is a welcome addition to the very slender library of American books which treat the subjects of theology and philosophy in a becoming spirit.

Christian Charity in the Ancient Church. By Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn, Abbot of Loccum. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Though this work is written in a dry and uninteresting style, it is an important contribution to the knowledge of the social and practical Christianity of the early Church. No other volume in the English language quite takes its place. It represents and sets forth in detail the work of

the Church in a perishing world, and is a careful study of the ways in which Christianity showed its superiority to the systems of religion with which in the first Christian ages it came in contact. Looked at from this point of view it is seen at its true value.

*The English Novel, * * * the Principle of its Development.* By Sidney Lanier. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The lectures composing this volume were first delivered by their illustrious and lamented author to the students of Johns Hopkins University in the winter and spring of 1881. The author died before they could be prepared for the press, and much that is crude has gone into the book, but, with all its limitations, it is an excellent study of the English novel, and the criticism of George Eliot's writings, is a strong and vivid illustration of the author's ideas of the novel, as a part of our literary developments. Nothing better on the novel has yet been written in England or America.

The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut. By E. Edward Beardsley, D. D. Third Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Dr. Beardsley has rendered great services to those who are to write a comprehensive history of the American Episcopal Church, by his studying of the progress of the Church in Connecticut, and his lives of Bishop Seabury and Dr. Johnson. The field was a narrow one and the materials were scanty, but it is the story told in these volumes, which presents the brightest and most important episodes in the history of the English Church in the American colonies. Dr. Beardsley tells this story in a straightforward, unambitious style, with accuracy, with intelligence, and with a proper historical spirit. It is a standard work.

Emerson's Works. Essays, First and Second Series; Nature, Addresses and Lectures; Representative men. New and Uniform Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

These volumes form a part of the new and final edition of Emerson's writings, and aside from their intrinsic merit, constitute the only edition of his works which the public

will care to purchase. They contain, so far, nothing new, but it is something to have the work of this great author in a form which his thought deserves. The volumes are of convenient size, are printed with good type on clear white paper and are flexibly bound. It is idle to-day to say anything new of Emerson, or to ignore his substantial merits. His name is considered by many to be among the chief names in American literature.

Meditations on Life, Death, and Eternity. Translated from the German of Zschokke, by Frederica Rowan. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This was a favorite book with the late Prince Albert, and since his death, with Queen Victoria. It is entirely of a devotional character, and is healthy and wholesome in its tone, infinitely better for the deepening of the religious life than the pietistic books which the advanced religionists among us have brought into vogue as translations from Roman Catholic devotional books. It will not suit every one, but will be greatly enjoyed by those who become familiar with the author's way of looking at spiritual truths.

The Bay of Seven Islands and other Poems. By John Greenleaf Whittier. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Matthew Arnold regards Mr. Whittier as the most truly American of our poets, and as one whose gift of verse-making is least controlled by the rules of the schools. The present volume shows no diminution in the quality of his work. "How the Women went from Dover," is in his best vein as a ballad writer, and he has never breathed forth the honest feelings of his heart in more genuine verses than those entitled "At Last." "The Story of Ida" is a pathetic sonnet in which that interesting narrative is condensed into the space of a poet's song. Most of these pieces, all, in fact, except the ballads, are occasional poetry and are as good as Mr. Whittier has ever written.

The Expansion of England. By J. R. Seeley. Boston: Roberts Brothers. This volume traces in two courses of lectures, delivered to the undergraduates of the University of Cambridge, the growth of Great Britain in its colonial and in its Indian Empire. They are something more than

formal college lectures. Prof. Seeley is a thinker as well as a historian. He insists upon the scientific method in the study of events. He shows in this volume what have been the underlying causes of the greatness of England, and how the history of modern and expanding Britain is to be studied. It is not easy to say in a few words what his qualifications as a writer are. He searches into the causes which are behind the events and knows how to find the centre of interest and movement in the development of national life. He applies the scientific method in the analysis of the causes, so far as they relate to the occupation of new lands, which have prepared the way for the colonial development of England. He is able to invest the ordinary eighteenth century, which is a dead period for England at home, with a new interest, by showing that the centre of England was then in America and India, not in the narrow and sordid discussions of the British Parliament. Similarly, when he comes to trace the growth of the Indian Empire he makes it plain that India has been an important agent in the consummation of the growth of England. Thus, further, he points out how the home country is changing under the influence of the colonial spirit and how the whole English race is undergoing a vital modification of its temper and life. It is impossible to enter into the numerous points in which these lectures light up the history of modern England. It is enough to say that their study will hereafter be a necessity to every one who wishes to understand the history of England since the Reformation, or to find the right place for the American colonies in the history of the world. Prof. Seeley is a clear and strong writer and in the best sense applies the philosophical spirit to the study of history.

History of the Christian Church. By Philip Schaff. Vol. II. Ante-Nicene Christianity, A. D. 100-325. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume in point of style is decidedly in advance of Dr. Schaff's treatment of the Apostolic age. But it is not more satisfactory as a history of the period of which it treats. It is a jumble of theories, and, as is too often the case with Germans, the writer's own theory on the subject

is the least satisfactory of all. Dr. Schaff denies "a divine right to any peculiar form of government as far as it departs from the simple principles of the New Testament," yet concedes "a historical necessity and great relative importance to the Ante-Nicene and subsequent organizations of the Church." He maintains that no trace can be found in the New Testament of a priesthood, and yet admits that Clement of Rome in the past Apostolic age "draws innocently a significant and fruitful parallel between the Christian presiding office, and the Levitical priesthood, and uses the expression 'laymen' as antithetic to high-priest, priests and levites." He accounts for the rise of sacerdotalism in the Church on the ground that both Jews and Gentiles in coming into the Church brought the notion of a priesthood with them. In other words, Dr. Schaff would have us believe that instead of the Church converting Jews, Turks and infidels, Jews, Turks and infidels corrupted the Church, and that it is in vain we search for a pure Christianity after converts began to enter into the fold. It is about as satisfactory as Renan's theory, which Dr. Schaff thinks worthy of putting in a note. "Renan: looking at the gradual development of the hierarchy out of the primitive democracy (*sic*) from his secular point of view, calls it 'the most profound transformation in history, and a triple abdication;' first the club (the congregation), committing its powers to the bureau or the committee (the college of presbyters), then the bureau to its president (the bishop), who could say '*Je suis le club*,' and finally the president to the Pope as the universal and infallible Bishop; the last process being completed in the Vatican Council of 1870." Truly, Frenchmen and Germans are a very amusing and highly imaginative people! Dr. Schaff's treatment of Episcopacy is equally remarkable with his idea of a Christian priesthood. He maintains that Episcopacy originated with Ignatius. And yet he grants that "the position of James, who evidently stood at the head of the Church at Jerusalem, and is called bishop, at least in the Pseudo-Clementine literature, and in fact supreme bishop of the whole Church. This instance, however, stands quite alone, and does not warrant an interference in regard to the entire

Church." Granting that it does stand alone, it upsets the theory that Episcopacy was an invention of Ignatius of Antioch in the past Apostolic age. Then, how is it in the case of Timothy and Titus? "Who," according to Dr. Schaff, "had a sort of supervision of several churches and congregational offices." "In any case," it is said, "they were not limited to a particular diocese." "If Bishops at all, they were missionary Bishops." But jurisdiction is not essential to the office of a Bishop. A missionary Bishop is just as much a bishop as an Archbishop, or a Primate. The conclusion of Dr. Schaff on the whole subject is a virtual admission of the claims of Episcopacy.

Whatever may be thought of the origin and the Divine right of the Episcopate, no impartial historian can deny its adaptation to the wants of the Church at the time, and its historical necessity.

Dr. Schaff states the arguments on the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius with great clearness, and comes to the conclusion that "the only genuine Ignatius, as the question now stands, is the Ignatius of the shorter seven Greek Epistles." While adhering to the opinion expressed before in this REVIEW, the less pretentious volumes of the Bishop of Lincoln are the products of a riper scholar and greatly to be preferred to the more elaborate disquisitions of Dr. Schaff, we recognize in these volumes a growing disposition to fairness of treatment, and hail their issue as likely to influence persons who could not be induced to read what Bishop Wordsworth has written on the same subject. The student will find the works of Dr. Schaff worth purchasing for the sake of the careful treatment of the literature of the subject contained in them.

Life of Luther. By Julius Köstlin. Translated from the German. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a smaller edition of a larger work in two volumes, intended for popular use. It is the best representation of the Great German Reformer with which we are acquainted. It is not so brilliant as Michelet's book, but more exhaustive and better sustained. It gives us a thorough narrative of the man and his work from his birth to his death, and furnishes us also with a graphic picture of the times and of Luther's contemporaries. Dr. Köstlin is a Professor at

the University of Halle, Wittenberg, and is in entire sympathy with Luther and his work. Whatever one's opinion of Luther's theological opinions may be, we cannot but admire the greatness of the man. The picture here given of Luther at the Diet of Worms, and in his retreat at the Wurtburg, inspires us with the feeling that Luther was the greatest man of his age—perhaps of any age. There is no denying his moral courage. We cannot withhold our admiration of the breadth and genialty of the man. He was a typical German. Nor is there any denying his love and devotion to his country, and the great work done by him in behalf of the German people. Dr. Köstlin's early chapters are admirably written. His picture of the Humanists is succinctly and ably drawn. Nor are the concluding chapters in which we see Luther in conflict with the Swiss Reformers of less value. Luther never could be a thoroughgoing Rationalist or ultra-Protestant. And yet, on Dr. Köstlin's own showing, Luther's reformation in a religious and ecclesiastical point of view was a failure. Not only did the masses fail to respond as Luther expected, but the attempt to substitute the civil for the ecclesiastical authority in matters of religion proved even before Luther's death a mistake. "The authorities, in his opinion, were far too unmindful of their high appointment by God, of which he had taken such pains to assure them. When church discipline came to be really introduced and made more stringent, he foresaw quite well it would touch only the peasants and not reach the upper classes." How much, then, we cannot refrain from asking, did the world gain by the substitution of "violent centaurs and greedy harpies" (they are Luther's own words) for the Pope and the College of Cardinals? There is something farcical if not tragical in the idea of Luther, with his course invective and free manner of living, consecrating a bishop, but he was now caught in his own trap and could not escape. He had made the Elector religious director, and now the Elector, John Frederick, forced upon the Chapter of the Cathedral, for Bishop of Naumburg, Nicholas Von Amsdorf. He did, in opposition to the Chapter, who elected Julius Von Pflug, and against the remonstrance of his chancellor, Brück, and of

Luther himself. Luther had an "Evangelical Bishop," and determined "to introduce him in an Evangelical manner." "Luther himself consecrated Amsdorf on January 20, together with two Evangelical superintendents of the neighborhood, the principal pastor and superintendent of the Evangelical congregation of Naumburg, with prayer, and the laying on of hands in the presence of various orders and a multitude of people from the town and district assembled in the Cathedral." Luther's Bishop proved a failure, it would seem, and because a mere Court Chaplain, Luther "even once refused a present of venison from his friend, Amsdorf, in order not to give occasion for calumny by the 'centaurs at court;' though, as he said, they themselves had devoured everything without any prickings of conscience. 'Let them,' he wrote to Amsdorf, 'guzzle in God's name or in any other.'" In other words, Luther delivered the Church from the tyranny of its ecclesiastic rulers to put it under the heel of the civil power, and made himself pope and autocrat without the pretense of mission or authority. The result was as might have been expected. Lutheranism to this day is a mere State religion, and when deprived of State control, falls, as in our own country, to pieces. It is worth while to read Professor Köstlin's book to see what a miserable failure Lutheranism proved itself to be even before the death of its founder. In saying this, we are not insensible to the value of Luther's work as a *social factor* in the work of reformation.

A Comparison of all Religions. By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1883.

This is a thoroughly Boston book, written in a truly Boston fashion. It accounts for everything, and, after the fashion of the Germans, presents for consideration a theory more absurd than anything which has gone before. It is Gnosticism revived: Emanationism under the name of Evolution. "This is the view, that while God is Creator and Preserver of the Universe as a whole, He has permitted beings inferior to Himself, but vastly superior to man, to carry on the work of creation in subordination to His own laws. When we read in historic geology of the vast tribes of creatures, radiata, mollusks, reptiles, birds, fishes, mam-

mals which have inhabited the earth during enormous periods before man came, we are led to think it possible that these creatures may have been the invention of great intelligences by permission of the Most High. And though man, in his higher nature, derives his being directly from God, as the idea of right and wrong, cause and effect, and the reason which contains the light of the Infinite and Eternal, testify—yet his lower bodily nature, by which he is allied to other animals, may have been gradually developed by the inventive powers of “subordinate beings.” This is the old Gnostic of a Demiourgos or world Creator, to whom we owe the origin of matter, and the creation of man’s physical nature. So this is the last Boston notion. The student who desires to take up the subject of comparative religion will find the whole question ably treated in Canon Wordsworth’s Bampton Lectures. It is a subject with which the clergy ought to be more familiar than they are. It will not do any longer to pooh! pooh! natural religion. We are drawing nearer and nearer to the conclusion that the object of Divine revelation is not to implant religion as a first principle, but to direct and develop the religious instinct implanted by God Himself, at the first, in the heart of every man. Canon Wordsworth has hit upon the right idea and develops it with great originality and power, especially in its application to the whole work of missions.

HOLIDAY BOOKS.

THE large number of holiday books published from year to year renders it necessary that those really worthy of it should receive special mention. Most publishers in preparing their holiday books concentrate their forces on some one of them and make it their representative work of the season. These are the works to which we propose to call attention. We do not pretend to be able to convey even a fair idea of them, for very many are works of great merit and are all that money and nineteenth century art can make them. Of course this refers to the dress which adorns some of the

noblest standards of English literature. Thus we find in the leading holiday books of the present year such old time favorites as *The Raven*, *The Princess*, *Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, *Bingen on the Rhine*, etc. A criticism, therefore, of their literary merits would be out of place.

THE RAVEN.*

The Raven is introduced to the public by a most graceful and discriminating comment by Mr. Edmund C. Stedman. It is more than a comment on the poem that made Poe famous for all time; it is a commentary on his life and work and Mr. Stedman deserves the warm admiration of all lovers of Poe for this careful analysis of his genius.

What, too, more fitting than that Gustave Doré should interpret to the eye the meaning of the poem. Mr. Stedman aptly remarks: In some of these drawings his (Doré's) faults are evident; others reveal the powerful originality and the best qualities in which as a draughtsman he stood alone. Plainly there was something in common between the working moods of Poe and Doré." The value of the illustrations independent of their true artistic merit is greatly increased by the fact that they were the last work completed by him. In our opinion they show no diminution of his wonderful powers.

The mechanical execution of the book is in every way worthy of the publishers whose reputation is world-wide.

THE PRINCESS.†

In these days of agitation and inquiry as to the education of woman, *The Princess*, in a new and most becoming dress,

* *The Raven*. By Edgar Allan Poe. Illustrated by Gustave Doré. With comment by Edmund Clarence Stedman. Engraved by H. Claudius, R. A. Muller, W. Zimmerman, Frederick Juengling, G. F. Buechner, R. G. Tietze, F. S. King, T. Johnson, R. Standenbaur, Frank French, R. Schelling, George Kruell, Victor Bernstrom, and Robert Hoskin. Folio (uniform with Doré's "Ancient Mariner,") illuminated cloth, gilt edges, in box, \$10. New York: Harper and Brothers.

†*The Princess*. By Alfred Tennyson, poet laureate. With 120 new illustrations, from drawings by F. Dielman, A. B. Frost, Harry Fenn, E. H. Garrett,

comes to us with wiles and charms innumerable. The fair sex cannot wish for a more attractive presentation of both sides of the question than Mr. Tennyson gave years ago, and which art and exquisite workmanship have united to enhance by illustration and typography. The work of such artists as Church, Schell, Mary Hallock Foote, Fredericks, and others, added to careful engraving, make the book truly valuable. We wish to call special attention to the emblematical designs and decorative lines ornamenting the little songs which mark the divisions of the poem, a page being devoted to each of them. Chief among them are "Sweet and Low," "Ask me no more," and "The splendor falls on castle walls." The imaginary landscapes and classic halls of the poem have been faithfully pictured by the artists.

MICHAEL ANGELO.*

As we look through this unique and perfect specimen of holiday work and recall Mr. Longfellow's wish and intention to have the poem illustrated, we cannot help regretting that he did not live to see the present volume. There is a rare fitness in the illustrations, and we do not believe that better wood-engraving and letter-press have ever been seen in this country. This is saying a great deal, but the justice of it will be conceded by those who examine it. What more gratifying, then, than to find such perfect artistic workmanship, in all its departments joined to a poem which certainly Longfellow himself believed to be and which is now generally conceded to be, among the best of his longer poems.

L. S. Ipsen, A. Fredericks, Mary Hallock Foote, W. St. John Harper, J. D. Woodward, and others. Drawn and engraved under the care of A. V. S. Anthony. One vol. 800 pp. Elegantly bound, with full gilt edges, in box, \$6. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

**Michael Angelo: A Dramatic Poem.* By H. W. Longfellow, superbly illustrated with designs by Walter Shirlaw, T. De Thulstrup, T. Wendell, Ross Turner, F. D. Millet, S. L. Smith, T. Hovenden; and engraved by G. Kruell, W. B. Closson, T. Johnson, Frank French, George T. Andrew, H. F. Krause, H. E. Sylvester, and Victor Bernstrom. Bound in cloth, beveled edges, full gilt, in an entirely new and unique style, \$7.50. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Some interesting facts concerning the poem are given in the Publisher's Note, which, we think, should be given here.

The dramatic poem of Michael Angelo was written by Mr. Longfellow mainly about ten years before his death, but was kept by him for occasional revision, and printed after his death in *The Atlantic Monthly* from his final copy. It had been his wish that the poem, when published as a book, should be accompanied by illustrations, and the publishers have accordingly reserved it for this form. In the plan of its illustration they have followed so far as they could the spirit in which the poet composed it, making the designs descriptive of the historical and biographical features of the poem, for the most part, and studying to render them accurate in their interpretation of the facts. They have added a few notes for the readers' convenience since the portraits, which form the chief subject of the notes, could not be referred to except by recourse to a variety of works.

The story is founded upon the love of Michael Angelo for Vittoria Colonna, who, in early life married the Marquis de Pescara who was killed in a battle at Ravenna in 1512. The best authorities agree that it was not until 1536 that she first met Michael Angelo, who was then over sixty years of age. During the Inquisition in 1541 she was compelled to take refuge in the convent at Viterbo. It was there that she began writing and receiving sonnets from Michael Angelo. While their love for each other deepened, they were never married.

The illustrations are by some of the most celebrated American artists and engravers. The binding is an entire departure from that of any other holiday book ever published.

SPANISH VISTAS.*

So much has of late been written upon Spanish travel, that has been of little real value, that we turn with relief to a volume such as this.

The aim of the author, as stated in the Preface is to present the essential characteristics of a country, which until recently, has been little known to the general traveler.

From Burgos to the Gate of the Sun; Toledo, where according to the legend, Don Roderick, the last of the Goths, beheld the beautiful Florinda; and to which fatal passion,

**Spanish Vistas*. By George Parsons Lathrop. Illustrated by Charles S. Reinhardt. Square, 8vo. Ornamental cloth, gilt tops, and uncut edges, \$8. New York: Harper and Brothers.

popular belief, with a dangerous disregard of Chronology, attributes the "fall of Spain before the Berber Arms;" Cordova and its pilgrims; Andalusia, the home of romance, long before the genius of Byron, or the fascinating melodies of Mozart had brought into prominence one among the many of her gay triflers; all these, and more, are brought before the reader in a series of graceful sketches with illustrations of great beauty and faithfulness of detail.

The political situation is lightly touched upon; but although the writer has viewed the country from neither philosophical nor historical standpoint, enough is said both in regard to climate, influence and race peculiarities, to interest those who look for something more than a mere running commentary upon men and things.

On the latter subject it will be sufficient to mention the remarks upon the early Roman influence as apparent and the more active rugged character of the Spaniard as compared with the Italian.

The book closes with a chapter of "Hints to Travelers," which is of great practical value. Both letter press and binding are in keeping with the picturesque style, and the fineness of illustration.

BINGEN ON THE RHINE.*

Both the artists and publishers have done full justice to this famous poem. The glimpses of the Rhine are accurate and the youth of military ambition could not picture to himself anything more illustrative of the poem than the artists have given us.

A new lustre is added to this gem of literature in this appropriate setting.

GRAY'S ELEGY.†

A most welcome friend to all our homes will be this illustrated edition of the poem that from childhood to old age

**Bingen on the Rhine.* By Caroline E. S. Norton. Illustrated by W. T. Smedley, Fred. B. Schell, Alfred Fredericks, Granville Perkins, J. D. Woodward and Edmund H. Garrett. Engraved under the supervision of James W. Lauderbach. 4to. Beautifully bound in cloth, gilt edges, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

†*Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard.* By Thomas Gray. With thirty

never loses its charm. It comes to us most beautifully illustrated, every drawing showing the sympathy of the artist with the poet. Many of the illustrations are from sketches taken at Stoke Pogis—the scene of the poem—by Mr. Fenn.

The three stanzas omitted by the author are given at the close of the volume and add to its interest and value.

LEAD KINDLY LIGHT.*

Perhaps this book will be more severely criticised than any other published this season. Not, however, because the artist has not done his work well, but because he has failed in his conception of the character to illustrate the poem. If the artist had studied the life of the author, and particularly that period of it when the poem was written, it seems to us that the character would have been none other than that of John Henry Newman. The mistake is most apparent in the frontispiece, giving expression to the line

Lead Thou me on,

which is the picture of a very beautiful *female* face, but which fails to indicate the mental condition of one humbly seeking guidance and light. The other illustration to which we take exception is of the line,

Pride ruled my will.

In this case the figure is that of a worldly beauty—the symbol of vanity—and not that of a strong will and ambition. The other illustrations, in fitness and beauty, are unsurpassed.

ADVENTURES OF TWO YOUTHS IN A JOURNEY THROUGH AFRICA.†

Happy will that boy be who receives for his Christmas

designs by Harry Fenn. Engraved by Andrew. Post 8vo. Ed. Beautifully bound in cloth, \$1.50. Illuminated covers, with fringed borders, Christmas card style, with box, \$1.75.

* *Lead Kindly Light*. By John Henry Newman; with twelve full-page illustrative and symbolical designs by Wm. St. John Harper and George R. Halm. Engraved by Andrew. 8vo. Beautifully bound in cloth, \$1.50. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

† *Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey Through Africa*. By Thomas W.

present a copy of this book. It will be a treasure house from which he may draw until the dawning of another Christmas morning. It is the fifth and last of the series entitled *The Boy Travelers in the Far East*. It is beautifully bound, beautifully illustrated, and full of both entertaining and instructive stories of adventure in Central Africa. At the first glimpse of its cover and pages the dulllest countenance will be sure to brighten. We do not believe that a book for boys has been published for a long time equal to it in both intrinsic merit and attractiveness.

Harper's *Young People* for 1882 and 1883 has been bound in two volumes, and forms a most appropriate present for the holidays. The publication is so well and favorably known that it needs no comment here.

THE QUEEN'S BODY-GUARD.*

This is a most appropriate book for young girls. It is gotten up in attractive form. The story is well written, readable, and one we can recommend.

THE BALL OF THE VEGETABLES.†

Among the many attractive books provided for the world of little men and women, this collection of graceful stories will hold a foremost place. "The Ball of the Vegetables" may have owed its suggestion to the "Ball of the Flowers," by that prince of story-tellers for children, Hans Andersen. But the writer has clothed her little sketch with a comical grace which does not belong to the statelier dance of the green-house.

We mention the "Duett," "The Flower that grew in a Cellar," "Rude March," and "Sweet April," as especially worthy of notice.

•The book in binding and illustrations "is fair to see," and all in all, it is one which will make the bright eyes grow brighter as they look into it.

Knox (Series, *The Boy Travelers in the Far East*, Part Fifth), with map. 8vo., 478 pages, Illuminated cloth, \$8.00. New York: Harper & Brothers.

* *The Queen's Body-guard*. By Margaret Vandergrift. 12mo., Cloth extra, brown and gold, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates.

† *The Ball of the Vegetables, and other Stories*. By Margaret Eytinge. Illustrated, 8vo. cloth, \$2. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE NIGHT BEFORE CHRISTMAS.*

The ring of this little favorite is re-echoed and a new beauty added in the fanciful illustrations so finely executed by several eminent artists. It will surely find a place in the hearts of the little ones for the first time made aware of the wonderful doings of that eventful night; and the older folks as well will be no less pleased to welcome this story in verse.

GOOD NIGHT AND GOOD MORNING.†

Lord Houghton's dainty little poem is presented in a form deserving of the most flattering commendation. The etchings and illuminations by Walter Severn are exquisite, and surround the poem with a bewitching loveliness.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

WE have received from Messrs. E. & J. B. Young & Co. "*The Laws of Marriage*, containing the Hebrew law, the Roman law, the law of the New Testament, and the Canon law of the Universal Church, concerning the impediments of marriage and the dissolution of the marriage bond; digested and arranged, with notes and scholia, by John Fulton, D. D., L.L. D., author of '*Index Canonum*,' etc." We regard this as the most timely and important work that has been published for a long time. The subject could not have been treated by a more competent scholar. It will soon be presented in a review article to our readers. In the meantime we advise every clergyman and layman who cares to be informed on the most vital question affecting society to buy a copy of this book and study it. We have received also from the same publishers *The Communion of the Saints*, five addresses to communicants by the Bishop of Truro; and *Addresses to Candidates for Confirmation*, by that able and learned writer, the Rev. Edward L. Cutts.

From Mr. Thomas Whittaker we have received Judge Andrews work on *Church Law*—"Suggestions on the law

* *The Night Before Christmas*. By Clement C. Moore. Elegantly illustrated with twenty engravings, from original drawings by F. B. Schell, W. T. Smedly, A. Fredericks and H. R. Poore. 4to Cloth, bevelled boards, gilt edges, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

† *Good Night and Good Morning*. By Lord Houghton. With illuminations and etchings by Walter Severn. Printed on German cardboard, tied and corded, and making a *Unique Christmas Card Gift*. Small quarto, with box, \$1.25. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, its Sources and Scope." This is another important contribution to a subject upon which there is much difference of opinion. It would not be just to speak of it here, further than to say that the "other side" of the question has been ably presented. A prominent member of the Philadelphia Bar is soon to review it in the *REVIEW*. *English Cathedrals*, "their architecture, symbolism and history," compiled by Miss E. W. Boyd, head of S. Agnes' School, Albany, is a very useful little manual. It contains a large amount of information in convenient form. *Thoughts on the Lord's Prayer*, by the Rev. Francis Washburn is to be commended for its usefulness as a practical commentary on the Divine pattern of Prayer.

Mr. James Pott has published a new and revised edition of the Rev. Dr. Norris's Teachers' Manual on the Catechism and the Prayer Book. The volume has been rearranged, a Commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles, and an Appendix on the Occasional Offices added. Mr. Pott has also published *A Daily Text Book* gathered from the writings of the late Dr. Pusey, printed with red borders in a beautifully bound volume. They are not a reflection of Dr. Pusey's doctrinal views, but of his saintly life. *The Confession of our Christian Faith*, "Commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius, with brief notes," by the Rev. F. W. Taylor, is a brief and intelligent setting forth of facts concerning the Creed, and of reasons why it should be restored to our Prayer Book.

Messrs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. have published in a volume the articles on the *Swedish Reformation*, by the Rev. Dr. Butler, which appeared in the *REVIEW* in 1881 and 1882, to which has now been added a new chapter. We received many commendations of them while they were being published in the *REVIEW*, and we doubt not that many will be glad to get them in their present form.

We have received from Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, two valuable manuals, viz., *Handbook for Friendly Visitors among the Poor*, compiled and arranged by the Charity Organization Society of New York; and a *Directory to the Charitable and Beneficent Societies and Institutions of the City of New York*.

How to Help the Poor, by James T. Fields (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is a little work full of practical advice to those who wish to help those whom Christ said would always be with us. From the same Publishers we have a new edition of Richardson's *Primer of American Literature*, with twelve portraits of American authors.

THE
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Defensio Scripturarum, Unitas Ecclesiae, Diffusio Christianitatis

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REV. HENRY MASON BAUM

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NEW YORK
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1883

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

EDITORIAL NOTICE.

The articles on the Revised Version of the New Testament, by the Rev. Dr. Goodwin, are soon to appear in a volume from the press of Mr. Whittaker. The publication of the series will, therefore, be discontinued in the REVIEW.

From the favorable comments which have been received, as well as judging from what has already been published in the REVIEW, the forthcoming work will be the most valuable and important which has yet appeared. The thorough scholarship of the writer, and his careful analysis of the work done by the Revisers, will ensure for the volume a ready acceptance and cordial appreciation. It is not at all likely that the work of the Revisers will ever again be so thoroughly examined by a competent scholar.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

The REVIEW is published monthly. The numbers for the year form two volumes of 600 pages each, ending with the months of June and December.

Cloth covers, uniform with those in which the REVIEW was bound in 1881 and 1882, will be mailed to subscribers on receipt of twenty-five cents per volume, or the numbers will be bound by the publishers, and returned free of charge to subscribers for seventy-five cents per volume.

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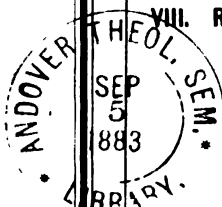
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AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW ASSOCIATION
1883



AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

EDITORIAL NOTICE.

The ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER, which formed so valuable a feature of the REVIEW during the first twenty years of its existence, will be resumed in the September number. It will be the last article in each number, forming a record of the month preceding that of publication, and will contain a Record of important events in the American Church. The value of such a record for present and future use cannot be overestimated.

Another new feature will be a biographical article in each number, with portrait for frontispiece of some deceased Bishop, prominent Clergyman or Layman. The late Bishop Pinkney will be the subject of the article for September.

We propose to make the REVIEW all its name implies, and we hope Churchmen will show their appreciation of the effort by increasing its circulation.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

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AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW ASSOCIATION

1883

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

A Biographical Article, with portrait for frontispiece, and an article on CURRENT CHURCH HISTORY, in review of the month preceding that of publication, will hereafter appear in each number.

In these articles it is proposed that on the death of a Bishop, distinguished Clergyman, or Layman of the Church, to put on record his life and work, and also to record such important events as are likely to be of present and future interest and value to the Church.

Volume XLII. July—December, 1883.

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AUGUST.

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SEPTEMBER.

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"We note with interest that the AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, edited by Rev. Henry Mason Baum, which has hitherto been a quarterly, now appears as a monthly magazine. It is a periodical of high character, and we congratulate our brethren across the water on the success of it."—*The Guardian* (London).

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